# Writing a Network, Constructing a Tradition: Ibāḍī Prosopography in Medieval Northern Africa (11th-16th c.)

by

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# Dedication

*For my parents, Paul and Stephanie.*

*And to my wife, Sarra.*

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Ann Arbor, Michigan
March 2016

# Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Tables

# List of Library and Archive Abbreviations

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ANOM | Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer | Aix-en-Provence, France |
| BnF | Bibliothèque Nationale de France | Paris, France |
| BnT | Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie | Tunis, Tunisia |
| Ivan Franko | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | Lviv, Ukraine |
| Jag. | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies Jagiellonian University | Krakow, Poland |
| Naples Or. | L'Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale | Naples, Italy |
| Makt. Al-Bārūnī | Al-Maktaba al-Bārūniyya | Jarba, Tunisia |
| Makt. Bin Yaʿqūb | Maktabat al-Shaykh Sālim b. Yaʿqūb | Jarba, Tunisia |
| Makt. Āl Khālid | Makatbat Āl Khālid | |
| Makt. Āl Faḍl | Āl Faḍl | Benisguen, Algeria |
| Makt. Āl Yaddar | Āl Yaddar | Benisguen, Algeria |
| Makt. Irwān | Irwān | Ateuf, Algeria |
| Makt. Al-Istiqāma | Al-Istiqāma | Benisguen, Algeria |
| Makt. Al-Ḥājj Saʿīd | Al-Ḥājj Saʿīd Muḥammad Lakhbourat | Ghardaia, Algeria |
| Makt. Al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ Lʿalī | Maktabat Al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ Laʿalī | Benisguen, Algeria |
| Makt. Bābakr | Maktabat al-Ḥājj Masʿūd Bābakr | Ghardaia, Algeria |
| Makt. Al-Khalīlī | Maktabat al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khalīlī | Muscat, Oman |
| Makt. Al-Shaykh Ḥammū | Maktabat al-Shaykh Ḥammū Bābā wa Mūsā | Ghardaia, Algeria |
| Makt. ʿAmmī Saʿīd | Makatabat ʿAmmī Saʿīd | Ghardaia, Algeria |
| UBL | Library of the University of Leiden | Leiden, Netherlands |

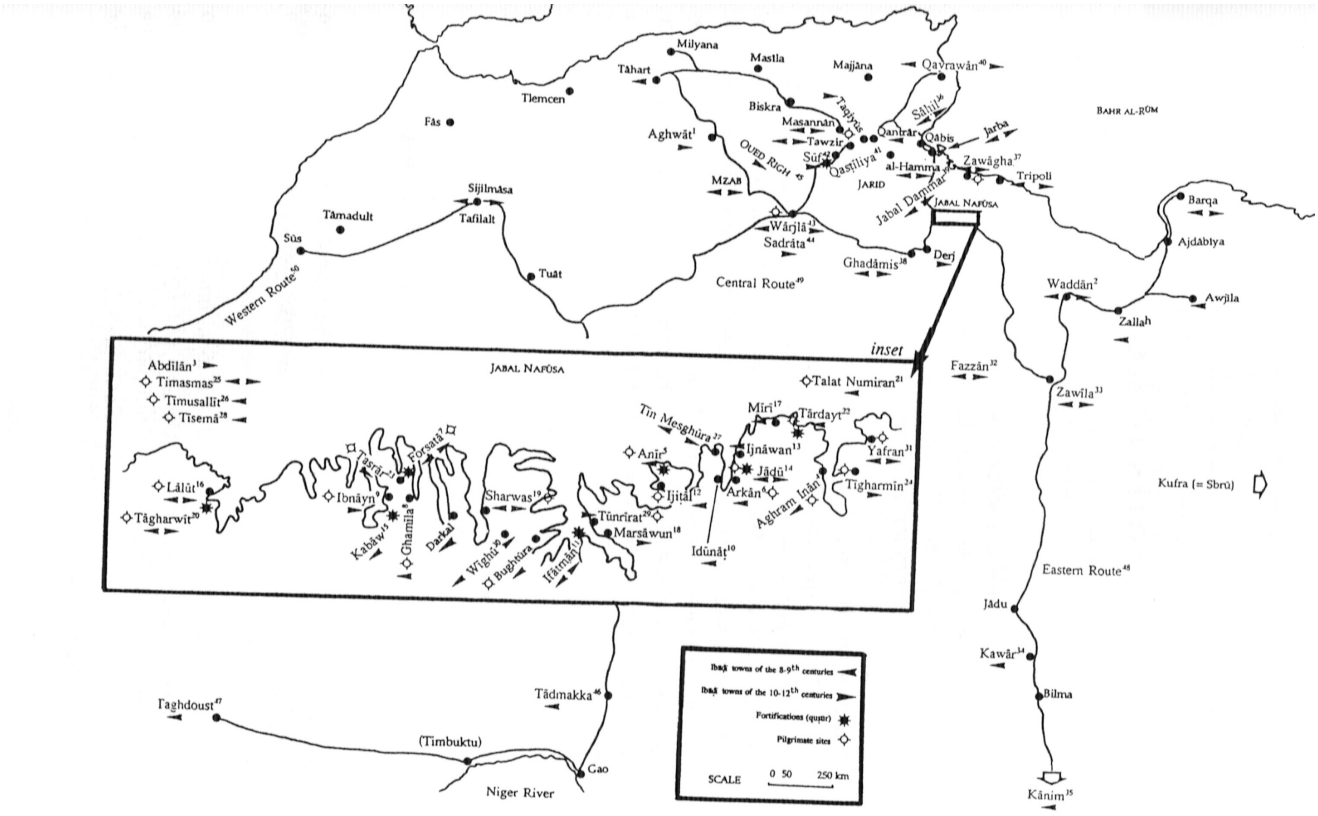
# Note on Transcription and Transliteration

In transcribing Arabic passages from printed and manuscript sources, I have attempted to present the script as close as possible to how it appears in the source. For example, if a word ending in *yā'* (ي) appears in a printed or manuscript version without dots below it (ى), I have transcribed it that way. Similarly, for common morphological features of Maghribi Arabic scripts such as a *lām alif* in place of a *lām* followed by an *alif maqṣūrā* (e.g., الله تعالا), I have transcribed those according to how they appear in the text. One important exception to this is the use of a single dot above or below the same morpheme to distinguish between the letters *qāf* and *fā.'* For transcriptions of those letters I have adopted the modern letters ( ق and ف).

Only in two other cases have I altered the text of passages. Firstly, wherever the editor of the printed version of an Arabic text has inserted modern punctuation marks, I have removed those. Secondly, for any alterations made in order to facilitate the meaning of a passage or to point to my own uncertainty as to the correctness of a transcription, I have inserted the text into brackets [].

In providing transliteration of Arabic words and terms I have tried to maintain consistency. The transliterations of Berber names, however, are rarely consistent in either primary or secondary sources. While I recognize that there exist several alternatives to the ways in which some of those names can be transcribed, here I have tried only to achieve consistency.

# Map: The Maghrib at the beginning of the Middle Period (11th c.)




Source: Elizabeth Savage, A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest, (New Jersey: Darwin Press, 1997), p.147.

# Introduction:
# A Long, Centuries-old Murmuring

> Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things, human or divine, that lie outside books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves. In the light of this reflection, the library seemed all the more disturbing to me. It was then a place of a long, centuries-old murmuring, an imperceptible dialogue between one parchment and another, a living thing, a receptacle of powers not to be ruled by a human mind, a treasure of secrets emanated by many minds, surviving the death of those who had produced them or had been their conveyors.
>
> -Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*

This long, centuries-old murmuring of manuscripts and the connections between those individuals who produced and used them, as well as those whose lives they described, lie at the heart of this study. It explores the history and historiography behind a corpus of Arabic prosopographical works composed from the mid-11$^{th}$ to early 16$^{th}$ centuries in Northern Africa by the Ibāḍīs, a Muslim minority community whose adherents have inhabited the villages and towns of the Maghrib since the 8$^{th}$ century. This study traces the history of this corpus over the *longue durée,* following these texts over nearly a millennium from their compilation in the medieval centuries through the early modern period and into the 20$^{th}$ century. It argues that the production, transmission and movement of this corpus of manuscript books and the Ibāḍī scholars who composed, compiled, bought, sold, and read them helped construct and maintain the Maghribi Ibāḍī tradition and its history by marking its boundaries and forming a network connecting multiple generations of religious scholars across time and space.

This process of tradition building began in earnest during the mid-11th century and continued through the 'Middle Period' (11th to 16th centuries). These centuries constituted a time of rapid and dramatic change in Northern Africa, one in which great dynasties like the Fatimids, the Zirids, the Almoravids, the Almohads, and their successors and challengers rose and fell. Alongside these well-known changes in the political landscape, the same period witnessed demographic transformations such as the gradual introduction of Arabic as the spoken language of both town and country as well as religious developments such as the spread of Sufism. All the while, Ibāḍī communities operated below the historiographical radar of most of their contemporaries. This study follows the history of the Ibāḍī community in this period of drastic change, in which Ibāḍī scholars themselves believed that they must connect or perish.

As a way of understanding this process of tradition building and network construction, this study explores the history of a corpus of five works of Ibāḍī prosopographical literature compiled over several centuries. The choice of the term 'prosopographical' as an equivalent for the Arabic term *siyar* used within the Ibāḍī tradition itself represents one of my principal arguments, namely, that these works are neither biographical dictionaries nor chronicles. Instead, they constitute a corpus of interconnected texts aimed at the continual construction and maintenance of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib in the face of political and religious marginalization from the Middle Period forward. The study demonstrates this process in two different but interrelated ways.

The first half of the study approaches these works on the narrative level, combining approaches from close reading and network analysis as ways of understanding both the context out of which they emerged and the context they created. It demonstrates that these five works represent a

concerted effort at what Elizabeth Savage first referred to as the "cumulative process of tradition building"[1] by Ibāḍī scholars in the Middle Period. Beginning in the 11th century, these scholars interacted through travel and the exchange of oral and written traditions that accompanied it, resulting in a community of scholars constituting an intellectual and religious network.[2] Furthermore, the authors and compilers of these works did not simply describe this network, but actually helped create it by bringing together multiple generations of scholars and pious individuals.

The resulting web of connections constitutes the 'written network' of the medieval Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition that marked the internal and external boundaries to the Ibāḍī tradition. Using an approach that draws from both a close reading of these prosopographies and from the employment of a model for visualizing the relationships described in them using network analysis, the first half of this study demonstrates the construction of this written network and the accompanying boundaries of tradition from the mid-11th to the early 16th centuries.

Following an analysis of the contents of the texts, the second part of the study turns to their material remains: the manuscripts. It argues that the movement of manuscript copies of the prosopographies complemented the movement of people described in them, creating a 'material network' that helped maintain the written network. The vast majority of extant copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies date to long after the end of the tradition itself. Even the earliest extant copies of the prosopographies date to the approximate end of the medieval prosopographical tradition in the

[1] Elizabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997), 2.

[2] The nodes in this network were not limited, however, to 'scholars' alone. Some individuals who appeared in these works of prosopographies neither taught nor studied extensively with scholars. Instead, some individuals were merely exemplary for their piety and later compilers did not even include their names. On this, see below Chapter 5, "The End of a Tradition."

late 15th century. As a result, the study follows the history of this manuscript corpus well beyond the Middle Period, through the early modern period and into the 20th century, demonstrating the importance of the material network for the long-term preservation of the written network. As manuscripts came into being, acquired new owners, folios, and bindings they established connections between different places and things—connections that often would not have existed if not for the manuscripts. These books served as actors in ways comparable to the individuals whose lives they chronicled. Furthermore, the two were inextricably linked in that humans produced the manuscripts and moved them around, but the manuscripts connected their readers to their authors, contents, copyists, and locations of origin. A constant, often elliptical movement of people and books along circuits connecting different geographic hubs characterizes both the written and material networks, suggesting that the historical trajectory of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus was 'orbital' on both the narrative and material levels.

The remainder of this introductory chapter presents a general overview of Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib up to the 11th century and outlines the general contours of contemporary historiography on Ibāḍī communities in the region. An explanation of both the method and theory underlying the study follows, including an overview of the basic elements of network analysis used throughout the first half of this study. Lastly, the introduction concludes with chapter outlines.

**Ibāḍī Islam in the Maghrib before the 11th century**

In many ways, this study opens *in media res* with respect to the history of the Ibāḍī community in the Maghrib. Historians have written the early history of Ibāḍīs in the region prior to the 11th century by

drawing principally from the prosopographical corpus composed in the the Middle Period. The traditional Ibāḍī narrative preserved there describes the arrival of Ibāḍism in the Maghrib at the end of the 7th century and beginning of the 8th through the activities of missionaries. The earliest Ibāḍī leaders in the region always bear ties to an eastern community centered in Baṣra, where the nascent Ibāḍī school had developed out of its ties to the *muḥakkima* movement associated with the Battle of Ṣiffīn in 656CE. The missionaries who trained in Baṣra studied under Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma (d.762).[3] These five legendary "bearers of knowledge" (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) then returned to the Maghrib and helped lead revolts in an attempt to found a polity. One of those figures, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, received credit for the founding of the Rustamid Imamate of Tāhart in the central Maghrib. His successors, called the Rustamids, Rustumids, or *al-Rustumiyyīn* by modern historians, continued to rule that city until 909CE when their capital fell to the Fatimids.[4]

The Ibāḍī prosopographies of the Middle Period, along with a unique and important chronicle from the 9th century by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr on the Rustamid Imams,[5] provide many details around the lives of the Rustamid rulers, the various political and religious rivals they encountered, and the geographic limits of their influence. The Ibāḍī tradition represented in the vast majority of surviving textual sources is generally referred to as the Wahbiyya, which the Maghribi Ibāḍī historiographical tradition holds to refer to the supporters of the second Rustamid Imam, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

[3] See "The Origins of Ibāḍism" and "The Early Ibāḍīs" in John Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 122–210.
[4] On the Rustamids see: Ibrāhīm b. Bakīr Baḥḥāz, *Al-Dawla al-rustamīyya* (Algiers: Maṭbaʿat Lāfūmīk, 1985); Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, *Akhbār al-aʾimma al-rustumiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir and Ibrāhīm b. Bakīr Baḥḥāz (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986); Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*; Cyrille Aillet, "Tāhart et les origines de l'imamat rustumide," *Annales Islamologiques* 45 (2011): 47–78.
[5] Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, *Akhbār al-aʾimma al-rustumiyyīn*.

Rustam (d.806). Despite the dominance of this one community in the works that have remained, Ibāḍī texts from the Maghrib make clear that other Ibāḍī communities also commanded large followings from the 8th century all the way up to the early modern period. Perhaps the largest of these communities was that referred to as *al-Nukkāriyya* or simply, *al-Nukkār*.[6]

Following the conquest of Tāhart by the Fatimids at the beginning of the 10th century, a Nukkārī Ibāḍī named Abū Yazīd (the infamous "Man on the Donkey") led the first of two major Ibāḍī revolts.[7] Abū Yazīd carried the support of many Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī communities in his revolt against the Fatimids and for a time he brought that new dynasty to brink of destruction. Ultimately, the Fatimids defeated him and his supporters scattered. While the widespread support for Abū Yazīd's revolt meant that the Wahbī historical tradition could not ignore him, its ultimate failure allowed Ibāḍī historians to vilify him and present him as the ultimate Nukkārī rebel. The result has been that Abū Yazīd appears in Wahbī Ibāḍī sources as almost as nasty a character as he does in Fatimid sources written during the two generations after his revolt.[8]

The next major revolt came at the end of the Fatimid period in the Maghrib during the last decades of the 10th century. The supporters of the two major Ibāḍī leaders of this revolt, Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl and Abū Khazar Yaghlā, met the Fatimid forces of Abū Tamīm al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (r.953-975) at the Battle of Baghāy in 968/69.[9] The Ibāḍī forces, drawn together from across the region, were

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[6] See discussion of "Nukkār" in Chapter 2 below.

[7] On revolt of Abū Yazīd see the excellent article by: Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "Abū Yazīd Al-Nukkārī," *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, 2013.

[8] On Abū Yazīd in Fatimid sources see: Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 165–79; Heinz Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids*, trans. Bonner (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 311–14.

[9] Virginie Prévost, "La révolte de Bāghāy (358/969): le dernier soulèvement des ibāḍites maghrébins," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65, no. 3 (2006): 197–206.

crushed. Both Abū Nūḥ and Abū Khazar survived as prisoners, however, and Ibāḍī prosopographies describe both of them as having a surprisingly close relationship with the Fatimid Caliph. When the Fatimids conquered Egypt and founded their new capital of Cairo, Abū Khazar accompanied the caliph while Abū Nūḥ fled to the Saharan town of Wārjalān.

The Fatimids left their clients, the Ṣanhāja Berber family later to become known as the Zirid dynasty, in nominal charge of the Maghrib.[10] Historians often mark that dynasty's (temporary) break with the Fatimids in the mid-11th century as the end of an era in the Maghrib because that period inaugurates the coming of the semi-legendary Banū Hilāl. Many modern historians have treated the Banū Hilāl as an onslaught of Arabic-speaking tribes whose arrival devastated the political, economic, and even religious stability of the region. The reality appears to have been much different, as Michael Brett has demonstrated in a series of studies.[11] The economic 'devastation' amounted to more of a slow demographic transformation in which different regional centers replaced the former hub of Qayrawān in the second half of the 11th century. As for the hordes of the Banū Hilāl, Brett has pointed out that these groups had long been present in the region and they need not all have been Arabs—assertions supported by passages found throughout the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus.[12] In many ways, the narrative of the Banū Hilāl in the 11th century resembles the historiographical debate over what historians used to think of as the hordes of 'barbarians' that overran the Roman Empire from the

[10] The classic and still unparalleled study of the Zirids is Hady Roger Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, 2 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1962).
[11] These articles appeared together in republication in Michael Brett, *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1999). On the issue of the Banū Hilāl and the Ibāḍīs see Chapter 1 below.
[12] See discussion in Chapters 1 and 2 below.

fourth through the sixth.[13] In both cases, substantial evidence points to a long-term process of nomadic migration and a shift in the political and economic landscape of the region. Although the Ibāḍī heartland of the Jarīd (the salt-flats and oases of modern-day central Tunisia) continued to prosper in this period, the changes to the economic and political landscape under the Zirids led Brett to refer to the "decline of the Ibāḍīyya in the Djerid"[14] and their growing concentration in Warjalān and its environs rather than in central Ifrīqiyā.

Fascinatingly, the corpus of prosopographies considered here begins at this very moment in the 11th century following the final unsuccessful revolt, the establishment of the Zirids, and the demographic shift that accompanied the migration of nomadic, often Arabic-speaking tribes. Following the failure of revolt and facing increasing marginalization, the Ibāḍī scholars who produced this corpus began to construct a historical tradition in which the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib transitioned from a period of Imamate to a council-rule system known as the *ʿazzāba*.[15] These *ʿazzāba* scholars eventually took on formalized roles as local political and religious leaders of Ibāḍī communities throughout the Maghrib. For this reason, these prosopographies highlight the lives of the scholars of the Ibāḍī community from the 11th century onward, situating them in a long line of pious figures and great leaders from the Rustamid period forward and eventually projecting that history backward to connect them retroactively to the earliest community of Muslims. It took

[13] On which see discussion and bibliography in Walter Goffart, "Rome's Final Conquest: The Barbarians," *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008): 855–83.
[14] Michael Brett, "Ifriqiya as a Market for Saharan Trade from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century A.D.," *Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 363.
[15] For the traditional historical outline of the *ʿazzāba* see: Farhat Djaabiri, *Niẓām al-ʿazzāba ʿind al-ibāḍiyya bi-jarba* (*L'Organisation des azzaba chez les ibadhites de Jerba*) (Tunis: Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, 1975). Cf. discussion of the ʿazzāba below in Chapters 1-3.

centuries for the *ʿazzāba* system to acquire its formalized structure, but from the 11th century forward these works began constructing the history of the Ibāḍī tradition and justifying their now marginal place in the political and religious landscapes of the Maghrib.

**Historiography on Ibāḍism in the Maghrib**

This study builds on a substantial body of scholarship on Ibāḍī intellectual and social history in Arabic and European languages.

Amr Ennami's *Studies in Ibadhism* represents the veritable beginnings of Ibāḍī studies in English.[16] His short but influential article on Ibāḍī manuscripts in the Maghrib also represented a major contribution to Ibāḍī studies in that region.[17] While his monograph brought to light many works previously unknown to European scholars, Ennami aimed to write an introduction to Ibāḍī studies and so concerned himself primarily with defining the contours of Ibāḍī thought and made little distinction between the Maghrib and the Mashriq as separate intellectual traditions in the pre-modern period. At times, Ennami blended historical periods together in his presentation of Ibāḍī history, insuring that his work reflects a modern vision of Ibāḍism from within the community.

Since Ennami, English-language scholarship on Ibāḍism has continued to focus on the early Ibāḍī communities in Baṣra as well as the medieval and early modern communities in Oman and Zanzibar. This focus is in part the result of British colonial involvement in Oman, which afforded British scholars access to materials and later led to the use of English as the language of higher

[16] Amr Khalifa Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism* (Benghazi: University of Libya, Faculty of Arts, 1972).
[17] Amr Khalifa Ennami, "A Description of New Ibadi Manuscripts from North Africa," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 15, no. 1 (1970): 63–87.

education in the modern Sultanate of Oman. English-language scholarship on the early Ibāḍī community in Iraq has revolved mainly around attempts by scholars to trace the 'origins' of Ibāḍism as it emerged out of Kharijite movements in the first two centuries of Islam.[18] This Anglophone focus on the eastern sphere of Ibāḍī history and thought is evident in the a series of papers given at conferences sponsored by the Omani Ministry of Heritage and Culture in recent years, the proceedings of which are all planned for publication.[19]

The work of John Wilkinson has offered a sophisticated argument on the origins and early development of Ibāḍism. While the majority of Wilkinson's work addresses Ibāḍī history in Oman, he offers important points regarding the Maghribi historical context. Building on his earlier book on the Imamate Tradition in Oman,[20] his most recent monograph lays out a historical narrative for Ibāḍī origins that encompasses the earlier tribal history of Arabia, the early development of the Ibāḍīs in Baṣra and Oman, all the way through the medieval Imamates.[21] Especially relevant to the present discussion, Wilkinson argues that the 11th and 12th centuries represented a period of formalization—a move, in his words, toward 'Madhhabization'—in which Ibāḍī thought in Oman gradually converged with Shāfiʿī legal principles and, more generally, with what became 'Sunni' standards of scholarship.[22]

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[18] In most cases, modern Ibāḍī thinkers challenge the standard Kharijite genealogy of Ibāḍīsm. See Valerie J. Hoffman, "Historical Memory and Imagined Communities: Modern Ibāḍī Writings on Khārijism," in *Historical Dimensions of Islam: Essays in Honor of R. Stephen Humphreys*, ed. James E. Lindsay and Jon Armajani (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2009), 185–200.
[19] Angeliki Ziaka, ed., *On Ibadism* (New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2014); Ersilia Francesca, ed., *Ibadi Theology Rereading Sources and Scholarly Works*, 2015; Barbara Michalak-Pikulska and Reinhard Eisener, *Ibadi Jurisprudence Origins, Developments and Cases* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2015); Reinhard Eisener, ed., *Today's Perspectives on Ibadi History and the Historical Sources*, vol. 7, Studies on Ibadism and Oman (Hildesheim, 2015).
[20] John Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[21] Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*.
[22] "Madhhabization" in Ibid., 413–37.

In particular, Wilkinson highlights the formalization of the Maghribi Ibāḍī *ḥadīth* collection in the same period.[23]

Although it makes no explicit attempt to connect the two spheres of Ibāḍī thought, the present study makes a complementary argument regarding the move toward the formalization of the Maghribi prosopographical tradition from the 11th to the 15th centuries. In this way, the slow but steady progression toward the construction of the Maghribi Ibāḍī tradition and the definition of the limits of the Ibāḍī community in Northern Africa by the prosopographical corpus represents part of a much larger process in which Ibāḍism became a *madhhab*.

Two other English historians, Michael Brett and Elizabeth Savage, have also written on Ibāḍīs in the medieval Maghrib and the present study in many ways uses their work as a point of departure. Savage wrote what remains the only published monograph in English on early Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib.[24] While she was especially interested in the early history of the Ibāḍīs up to the time of the Rustamids, Savage was keenly aware of the interrelated character of the works in the prosopographical corpus and she first used the term "cumulative process of tradition building" in describing Ibāḍī history, an idea fundamental to the prosopographical tradition. Likewise, her final chapter entitled "Beyond Tāhart" briefly pointed to the key role of networks of Northern African Ibāḍī scholars in maintaining their communities in the post-Rustamid centuries.[25] In many ways, this study picks up the story where her book ended.

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[23] The argument in his *Ibāḍism* builds off an earlier argument from: John Wilkinson, "Ibadi Hadith: An Essay on Normalization," *Der Islam* 62 (1985): 231–59.
[24] Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*.
[25] Ibid., 136–46.

Michael Brett's many studies, as noted above, have contributed much to rethinking the medieval context of Northern Africa. His works on the Fatimids, the Banū Hilāl, the Zirids, and the Almohads provide the context out of which the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition emerged.[26] While never assuming a leading role, the Ibāḍīs remain regular supporting actors in his studies on the medieval Maghrib. In particular, Brett noted in the article quoted above the gradual decline and disappearance of the Ibāḍīs from the heartland of Ifrīqiyā in the mid-11th through the 12th centuries. This study takes up the question of how Ibāḍīs reacted to this gradual political, religious, and geographic marginalization in the Middle Period.

Martin Custers' invaluable three-volume reference work, *al-Ibāḍīyya: A Bibliography,* has brought together most of what has been written in European languages and in Arabic on the Ibāḍīs, including an entire volume devoted to primary sources by Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib (including Egypt).[27] As is clear from the following chapters, this reference, along with its author's own original contribution to the historical study of 19th and 20th century Ibāḍī publishing,[28] have played a huge role in facilitating research for this study.

The history of Ibāḍī Islam in the Maghrib has also been gaining attention in the North American academic community and the study of Ibāḍism in the Mashriq has long received the

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[26] In addition to the essays collected in his *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*, his monograph on the Fatimids and the Mediterranean brings together much of his earlier work: Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*. More recently, Brett has situated Northern Africa into the much broader context of African history in his *Approaching African History* (Oxford: James Currey, 2013). Also, his earlier work in collaboration with Elizabeth Fentress on the history of the Berbers also sheds light on the long-term history of the linguistic communities that adopted Ibāḍī Islam in the Maghrib: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1996).

[27] Martin H. Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya: A Bibliography: Ibādīs of the Mashriq*, 3 vols. (Maastricht: Universitaire Pers, 2006). A second, updated and expanded edition of this work, referenced in some footnotes below, is set to appear in 2016.

[28] Martin H. Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.* (Maastricht: n.p., 2006).

attention of a number of scholars there. For example, the works of Michael Cook, Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmerman have dealt with the early Ibāḍī community and its relationship to Kharijite movements,[29] as has Wilfred Madelung.[30] Recently, Adam Gaiser and Valerie Hoffman have published monographs on the origins of Ibāḍī Imamate theory and modern Ibāḍī theology, respectively.[31] Likewise, Amal Ghazal has written about the place of Ibāḍīs in Arab *Nahḍa*-era discussions of nationalism.[32] All three drew from Maghribi and Mashriqi sources, with Gaiser's study showing the how the Imamate tradition differed in the two geographic areas in the pre-modern period and Hoffman's and Ghazal's works demonstrating links between the two spheres in the modern period.[33]

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[29] E.g, Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmermann, eds., *The Epistle of Sālim Ibn Dhakwān* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[30] Madelung's many contributions to Ibāḍī studies have also been unique in that until recently they represented some of the only work in English on Ibāḍī theology. His interest in Nukkārī Ibāḍī theology has brought to light a number of important texts. E.g., Wilfred Madelung, "Abd Allāh Ibn Ibāḍ and the Origins of the Ibāḍiyya," in *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam: Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of L'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, ed. E. Michalak-Pikulska and A. Pikulski (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 52–57; Abū l-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, *Early Ibāḍī literature: Kitāb al-raṣf fī l-tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Muḥāraba and Sīra*, ed. Abdulrahman Al-Salimi and Wilfred Madelung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011); Wilfred Madelung, "The authenticity of the letter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ to ʿAbd al-Malik," ed. Cyrille Aillet, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no. 132 (2012): 37–43; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Fazārī, *Early Ibāḍī theology: six kalām texts*, ed. Abdulrahman Al Salimi and Wilferd Madelung, 2014.

[31] Adam Gaiser, *Muslims, Scholars, Soldiers: The Origins and Elaboration of the Ibāḍī Imamate Traditions* (Oxford University Press, 2010); Valerie J. Hoffman, *The Essentials of Ibāḍī Islam* (Syracuse University Press, 2012). Both Gaiser and Hoffman have written on Ibāḍīs in North Africa, as well. E.g., Valerie J. Hoffman, "Ibadi Reformism in Twentieth-Century Algeria: The Tafsir of Shaykh Ibrahim Bayyud," *REMMM* 132 (2012): 155–73; Adam Gaiser, "Slaves and Silver across the Strait of Gibraltar: Politics and Trade between Umayyad Iberia and Khārijite North Africa," *Medieval Encounters* 19, no. 1–2 (2013): 41–70.

[32] Amal N Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean (1880s-1930s)* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010); Amal N Ghazal, "The Other Frontiers of Arab Nationalism: Ibadis, Berbers, and the Arabist-Salafi Press in the Interwar Period," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 1 (2010): 105–22; Amal N Ghazal, "An Ottoman Pasha and the End of Empire: Sulayman al-Baruni and the Networks of Islamic Reform," in *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 40–58.

[33] Hoffman's work has also addressed topics including identity and mysticism in modern Ibāḍism in both Zanzibar and Oman. E.g., Valerie J. Hoffman, "The Articulation of Ibādī Identity in Modern Oman and Zanzibar," *The Muslim World* 94, no. 2 (2004): 201–16; Valerie J. Hoffman, "Mysticism, Rationalism and Puritanism in Modern Omani Ibāḍism (18th-Early 20th Century)," *The Muslim World* 105, no. 2 (2015): 251–65.

Furthermore, Gaiser's work on the intellectual history of the Ibāḍī Imamate tradition supports Wilkinson's thesis on the 11th and 12th centuries as a period of 'madhhabization.'[34]

Not surprisingly, the study of early and medieval Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib has commanded the attention of French and Francophone academics since the French occupation of Algeria in the mid-19th century. French colonial-era scholarship on Ibāḍīs in Algeria was often both academic and explicitly political. French historians, linguists, and anthropologists more often than not served as officials in the colonial administration in Algeria or received their research funding from it.[35] Although the region was one of the last to be incorporated into French colonial territory when annexed in 1885, the Mzab and its Ibāḍī inhabitants also received the attention of colonial-era scholarship.[36]

A large number of studies in French on Ibāḍism, including the first printed European publications of medieval Ibāḍī texts, resulted from the colonial enterprise there. The overarching tendencies of early French historical scholarship on Ibāḍism in the Maghrib were to publish translations of the contents of manuscripts or to reproduce the standard narratives described in those works. More immediately relevant here, several important colonial-era studies by authors writing in

[34] Adam Gaiser, "The Ibāḍī 'stages of Religion' re-Examined: Tracing the History of the Masālik Al-Dīn," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 73, no. 2 (2010): 207–22.
[35] Sophie Dulucq, *Écrire l'histoire de l'Afrique à l'époque coloniale, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Karthala, 2009).
[36] On colonial-era scholarship and the Ibāḍīs, see: "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus."

French on Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib such as Masqueray,[37] Motylinski,[38] Schacht,[39] and Idris and LeTourneau,[40] focused their attention on the Ibāḍī prosopographies.

Although never published, the PhD thesis of Brahim Fekhar on the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib after the Fatimid conquest constitutes another foundational work in Ibāḍī studies in Europe.[41] A colleague of Amr Ennami, Fekhar's dissertation presented much the same historical outline as Ennami's, although more specifically focused on the Maghrib. Like Ennami, Fekhar presented a very broad overview of Ibāḍī history and institutions, including extended discussions on both theology and doctrine, that serves as an excellent point of entry to Ibāḍī history.[42]

Pierre Cuperly's study of Ibāḍī theology, *Introduction à l'étude de l'ibāḍisme et de sa théologie,* stands out as one of the the most important contributions to later 20th century historiography on Maghribi Ibāḍī communities.[43] While Cuperly's study focused on theological and doctrinal texts (especially *ʿaqāʾid* statements), his conclusions bear relevance to the present study. Cuperly argued for the importance of these theological texts in the formation of a distinct Ibāḍī school of thought in Northern Africa—again, with the key period of the 11th to the 13th centuries representing a formative

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[37] Emile Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria* (Alger, 1878). On Masqueray's work see Ouahmi Ould-Braham, "Émile Masqueray et les études linguistiques berbères" (Dissertation, Paris EHESS, 2003).

[38] Adolphe Motylinski, "Bibliographie du Mzab. Les Livres de la secte abadhite," *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine* 3 (1885): 15–72.

[39] Joseph Schacht, "Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites," *Revue africaine* 100 (1956): 375–98.

[40] Roger Letourneau, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī," *Revue africaine* 462–3 (1960): 99–176 & 322–90; Roger Letourneau, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī (Suite)" 103 (1961): 117–76; Hady Roger Idris, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī: Deuxième partie," *Revue africaine* 468–9 (1961): 323–74; Hady Roger Idris, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī: Deuxième partie (suite)," *Revue africaine* 470–1 (1962): 119–62.

[41] Brahim Fekhar, "Les communautés ibadites en Afrique du Nord (Libye, Tunisie et Algérie) depuis les Fatimides" (Dissertation, Université de la Sorbonne, 1971).

[42] Of particular value was Fekhar's appendix list of Ibāḍī libraries in the Maghrib: "Biblothèques Ibadite Nord-Africaines," 380-4.

[43] Pierre Cuperly, *Introduction à l'étude de l'ibāḍisme et de sa théologie* (Alger: Office des publications universitaires, 1984). Cuperly's work serves as an excellent introduction to Ibāḍī studies and to Maghribi Ibāḍī theological texts, many of which he analyzes in detail.

period in the move toward madhhabization. Through the accumulation of a textual corpus and by adapting to the changing circumstances in which their communities found themselves, Ibāḍī scholars managed to construct an Ibāḍī theology that helped distinguish them from their contemporaries. This accumulation of texts, achieved through their transmission over time, in turn established the authority of their authors and tradents. Cuperly concludes his study by noting that:

> L'Ibāḍisme n'est pas un monde clos et figé. A travers les vicissitudes de son histoire mouvementée, au Maghreb comme au ʿUmān…il n'a pas été sans accuser l'impact des courants de pensée voisins…La transmission de la science assure aussi, au cours du temps, un substitut de magistère pour garantir l'authenticité de la foi…C'est au titre de cette continuité et du poids d'autorité dont étaient revêtus ces grands docteurs, qu'une crédibilité pouvait être donnée à leur professions de foi.[44]

The present study complements Cuperly's conclusions by demonstrating the role of the *siyar* genre of Ibāḍī prosopographies in the construction and maintenance of a historical tradition that emerged out of a long-term process of adoption and adaptation. Likewise, it emphasizes that the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus, like the theological corpus, also helped construct, define, and maintain the limits of the Ibāḍī community.

More recent work on the history of Ibāḍism in French has also offered a critical reading of earlier colonial-era literature and Ibāḍī primary texts from the Maghrib, evident in the work of Cyrille Aillet, Virginie Prévost, and the team of scholars involved in the *Maghribadite* project.[45] Aillet has been working *inter alia* on rethinking Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib through the lens of memory, typified by his study of the medieval Ibāḍī city of Sadrāta in collaboration with archaeologists Sophie Gilotte and Patrice Cressier.[46] Prévost has written a monograph and dozens of articles on medieval

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[44] Ibid., 311–12.

[45] "Maghribadite | L'ibadisme Dans l'Islam et Le Maghreb Pré-Ottomans," n.d., http://maghribadite.hypotheses.org/.

[46] E.g., Aillet, "Tāhart et les origines de l'imamat rustumide"; Cyrille Aillet, ed., "L'ibâḍisme, une minorité au cœur de l'islam," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 132 (2012); Cyrille Aillet and Sophie Gilotte, "Sedrata: l'élaboration

Maghribi Ibāḍī communities. Her work, in particular, has pointed to the importance of scholarly and trade networks among Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib.[47] Augustin Jomier has also recently written on reform movements in Mzab Ibāḍī communities during the 19th and 20th century that helped shape contemporary conversations on Ibāḍī history, including contemporary imaginings of 'community.'[48] One of the tremendous benefits of the Maghribadite project, in particular, has been bringing European historians and archaeologists together with another important community of scholars

d'un lieu de mémoire," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 132 (2012): 91–114; Cyrille Aillet and Muḥammad Ḥasan, "The Legal Responsa Attributed to Aflaḥ B. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb (208-58/823-72). A Preliminary Study," in *Ibadi Jurisprudence: Origins, Developments, and Cases*, ed. Barbara Michalak-Pikulska and Reinhard Eisener (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), 137–46. His team's long-term project on the medieval Ibāḍī city of Sadrāta is also set to appear soon: Cyrille Aillet, Patrice Cressier, and Sophie Gilotte, eds., *Sedrata, histoire et archéologique d'un carrefour du Sahara médiéval* ([Forthcoming], 2016).

[47] E.g., Virginie Prévost, *L'aventure ibāḍite dans le Sud tunisien, VIIIe-XIIIe siècle: effervesence d'une région méconnue* ([Helsinki]: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2008); Virginie Prévost, *Les Ibadites: De Djerba à Oman, la troisième voie de l'Islam*, Fils d'Abraham (Brepols, 2010); Prévost, "La révolte de Bāgāya (358/969)"; Virginie Prévost, "L'influence de l'Etat rustumide dans le Sud Tunisien," *Acta orientalia.* 68 (2007): 113; Virginie Prévost, "Les mosquées ibadites du Maghreb," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 125 (2009): 217–32; Virginie Prévost, "La formation des réseaux ibadites nord-africans (VIIIe-XIIe siècles)," in *Espaces et réseaux en Méditerranée (VIe-XVIe siècles)* (Paris: Éditions Bouchène, 2010), 167–86; Virginie Prévost, "Les innovations de Naffāṯ b. Naṣr ou le troisième schisme chez les ibadites," *Al-Qantara* 34, no. 1 (2013): 123–51.

[48] Augustin Jomier, "Iṣlāḥ ibāḍite et intégration nationale : vers une communauté mozabite ? (1925-1964)," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 132 (2012): 175–95; Idem, "Un Réformisme Islamique Dans l'Algérie Coloniale : Oulémas Ibadites et Société Du Mzab (c. 1880 - c.1970)" (PhD Thesis, Université du Maine, 2015).

working on Ibāḍism: francophone scholars from the Maghrib including Alloua Amara,[49] Mohammed Hasan,[50] Mohammed Meouak,[51] and Moez Dridi.[52]

In addition to the French, other European academics made significant contributions to the study of Ibāḍism in the Maghrib throughout the 20th century. No single scholar published more on Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa than Polish historian Tadeusz Lewicki.[53] Like his French predecessors and contemporaries, however, Lewicki tended to follow a positivist reading of the sources at his disposal.[54] Two German historians, Werner Schwartz and Ulrich Rebstock, also published monographs in the same year on early medieval Ibāḍism in the Maghrib—focusing on the era of the arrival of Ibāḍism and the history of the Ibāḍī Rustamid dynasty in the 8th and 9th centuries.[55] In the introduction to his

[49] E.g., Allaoua Amara, "Remarques sur le recueil ibāḍite-wahbite Siyar al-Mashāyikh: Retour sur son attribution," *Andalus-Maghrib* 15 (2008): 31–40; Allaoua Amara, "Entre le massif de l'Aurès et les oasis : apparition, évolution et disparition des communautés ibâḍites du Zâb (VIIIe-XIVe siècle)," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no. 132 (2012): 115–35; Allaoua Amara, "La malikisation du Maghreb central (III/VIe-IX/XIIe siècle)," in *Dynamiques religieuses et territoires du sacré au Maghreb médiéval: éléments d'enquête*, ed. Cyrille Aillet and Bull Tuil Leonetti, Estudios Árabes Islámicos (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2015).

[50] Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan, 2 vols. (Tunis: Kulliyat al-ʿulūm al-insāniyya, Univ. of Tunis, 1995); Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2009); Mohamed Hassen, "Peuplement et organisation du territoire dans une région d'implantation ibāḍite : le Jebel Demmer dans le sud-est de l'Ifrîqiya.," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 132 (2012): 137–54; Aillet and Ḥasan, "The Legal Responsa Attributed to Aflaḥ B. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb (208-58/823-72). A Preliminary Study."

[51] Mohamed Meouak, *La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval: textes, contextes, analyses* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2015).

[52] Moez Dridi, "The Theology of Human Actions: Imposing the Impossible, *al-taklīf* and its Problems among the Ibāḍīs," in Francesca, *Ibadi Theology Rereading Sources and Scholarly Works*, 177–84.

[53] The corpus of Lewicki's works is large and given in full in "Works of Tadeusz Lewicki" in Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*, 184–89; Krzysztof Kościelniak, "The Contribution of Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992) to Islamic and West African Studies," *Analecta Cracoviensia : Studia Philosophico-Theologica Edita a Professoribus Cracoviae.* 44 (2012): 241–55. See also the discussion of Lewicki's work below in "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus."

[54] See "Lewicki Corpus" in Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*, 13–14.

[55] Ulrich Rebstock, *Die Ibāḍiten im Maġrib (2./8.-4./10. Jh.): die Geschichte einer Berberbewegung im Gewand des Islam* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1983); Werner Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibaditen in Nordafrika: der Beitrag einer islamischen Minderheit zur Ausbreitung des Islams* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Verlag O. Harrassowitz, 1983); Michael Brett, "[Review of] Ulrich Rebstock, 'Die Ibāḍiten im Magrib...' and Werner Schwartz' Die Anfänge der Ibāḍiten...," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 49 (1986): 216–18.

work, Rebstock noted the cumulative character of the Ibāḍī historical textual corpus.[56] Schwartz, along with Tunisian Ibāḍī scholar Sālim b. Yaʿqūb, also published a printed edition of what historians regard as the earliest Maghribi Ibāḍī text, the *Kitāb Ibn Sallām,* giving attention to the manuscript history of the text.[57] Finally, Italian contributions to the study of Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib in the 20th century included the valuable work of Roberto Rubinacci, who wrote a series of articles based on a collection of Ibāḍī manuscripts taken from Tripolitania during the Italian colonial occupation.[58] More recently, the work of the Italian historian Ersilia Francesca has taken up a number of topics in Ibāḍī studies, especially early Ibāḍī law.[59] In particular, she has suggested that the same process and period of madhhabization in the 11th and 12th centuries extended to the realm of Ibāḍī law.[60]

But perhaps the largest body of secondary literature on Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib has been that written in Arabic, whether by Ibāḍīs or others. The earliest historiographical studies appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the context of the *Nahḍ*a, including the works of Ibāḍī scholars like Amuḥammad Aṭfayyish, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish, Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, Ibrāhīm Bayyūḍ, and

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[56] Rebstock, *Die Ibāḍiten im Maġrib* (*2./8.-4./10. Jh.*), xxiv.

[57] Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Kitāb fīhi bid' al-islām wa-sharā'i' ad-dīn*, ed. Werner Schwartz and Sālim b. Yaʿqūb (Beirut: Dār Iqra', 1986).

[58] Roberto Rubinacci, "Il 'Kitāb al-Jawāhir' di al-Barrādī," *Annali dell'Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 4 (1952): 95–110; Roberto Rubinacci, "Il califfo 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāditi," *Annali dell Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 5 (1953): 99–121; Roberto Rubinacci, "La professione di fede di al-Gannawuni," *Annali di Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 14 (1964): 552–92. On Rubinacci's see Roberto Rubinacci, "Bibliografia degli scritti di Roberto Rubinacci," in *Studi arabo-islamici in onore di Roberto Rubinacci nel suo settantesimo compleanno* (Naples: Universitario Orientale, 1985), XIII–IX. On other Italian scholars of Ibāḍism see Ersilia Francesca, "Ibāḍī Studies in Naples. Rereading the Works of Last Century Italian Scholars," in *Ibadi Theology. Rereading Sources and Scholarly Works*, Studies on Ibadim and Oman 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), 13–22.

[59] E.g., Ersilia Francesca, "From the Individualism to the Community's Power: The Economic Implications of the Wilāya/ Barā'a Dynamic among the Ibāḍīs," *Annali dell'Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 59 (1999): 67–77; Ersilia Francesca, *Teoria e pratica del commercio nell'Islām medievale: i contratti di vendita e di commenda nel diritto ibāḍita* (Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino, 2002); Ersilia Francesca, "The Formation and Early Development of the Ibāḍī Madhhab," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 28 (2003): 260–77; Ersilia Francesca, "Early Ibāḍī Jurisprudence: Sources and Case Law," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005): 231–63.

[60] Ersilia Francesca, "Ibāḍī Law and Jurisprudence," *The Muslim World* 105, no. 2 (2015): 209–23.

ʿAlī Yaḥyā Muʿammar.[61] As John Wilkinson and Valerie Hoffman have pointed out, these early writing have shaped most modern understandings of pre-modern Ibāḍī history.[62] Post-independence era scholarship in Arabic on Maghribi Ibāḍī history has included a large number of both secondary studies and primary text editions in Northern Africa and especially Oman, where the Ministry of Heritage and Culture has published both Maghribi and Mashriqi Ibāḍī texts.[63] The introductions and footnotes of many of these printed editions of primary texts themselves represent important contributions to scholarship on Maghribi Ibāḍī history.

Historical surveys of Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib written in Arabic over the past few decades have tended to follow one of two trends. The first, written primarily by non-Ibāḍīs, connects the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib to early movements labelled "Kharijite" both in the Mashriq and the Maghrib, while devoting little attention to later developments in Middle Period Northern Africa.[64] Contemporary Ibāḍīs, who largely reject this genealogy of 'Kharijite' to 'Ibāḍī,' have devoted a tremendous amount of energy since the 19th century in addressing their links (or lack thereof) with the Kharijites.[65] The reason for emphasizing this distinction stems from the pejorative historical and

[61] On these figures and their writings, see Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006.
[62] Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*, 413–37; Hoffman, "Historical Memory and Imagined Communities: Modern Ibāḍī Writings on Khārijism."
[63] Lists of the texts published by the Omani Minisitry of Heritage and Culture are available on the ministry's website under "*Iṣdārāt al-wizāra*," http://www.mhc.gov.om/arabic/tabid/126/Default.aspx#60311--
[64] The Marxist-inspired history of Kharijite communities in the Maghrib by Egyptian historian Maḥmūd Ismāʿīl ʿAbd al-Rāziq represents an interesting example: Maḥmūd Ismāʿīl ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *al-Khawārij fī bilād al-Maghrib ḥattā muntaṣaf al-qarn al-rābiʿ al-hijrī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥurriyya al-Ḥadītha, 1986).
[65] The connections from multiple perspectives are presented in ʿAlī Yaḥyā Muʿammar, *al-Ibāḍiyya bayna al-firaq al-islāmiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1976). See discussion in Hoffman, "Historical Memory and Imagined Communities: Modern Ibāḍī Writings on Khārijism."

contemporary use of the term Kharijite (*khārijī,* lit. 'someone who has gone out') to imply that an individual or group has transgressed the boundaries of Islam.[66]

Although the secondary literature has continued to focus on Ibāḍī history in the Mashriq and only on the pre-Fatimid period in the Maghrib, there has been a handful of exceptions. For example, the published dissertation of the Tunisian historian Salah Bejia (Ṣalāḥ Bājiyya) addresses the history of the Tunisian Jarīd (Djerid) in the medieval centuries.[67] In addition to his work in French, Muḥammad Ḥasan has also edited Ibāḍī texts and written studies in Arabic.[68] A third Tunisian historian, Muḥammad Maryamī, has written one of the only studies of Ottoman-era Ibāḍī communities on Jarba.[69]

The second trend of works in Arabic, written mainly by Ibāḍīs themselves, largely reproduces the traditional account of Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib outlined above, from the formation of the community in Basra through the fall of the Rustamids. As in the case of the literature in Arabic by non-Ibāḍī authors, the Middle Period has received some attention here but studies on the pre-Fatimid centuries outnumber those on later centuries.[70] The majority of these studies on Maghribi Ibāḍī communities have continued to rely heavily on the prosopographical corpus and a handful of

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[66] A striking example of the power of the term *khārijī* in modern Egyptian political and journalistic discourse was the subject of Jeffrey Kenney, *Muslim Rebels: Kharijites and the Politics of Extremism in Egypt* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[67] Ṣāliḥ Bājiyya, *al-Ibāḍiyya bi l-jarīd fī l-ʿuṣūr al-islāmiyya al-ūlā* (*Les Ibadhites au Djerid au Moyen Age*) (Tunis: al-Jāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya, 1976).

[68] In addition to his editions of al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar* cited above, see e.g.: Muḥammad Ḥasan and et al., *Qānūn al-miyāʾ wa al-tahiyʾa bi junūb ifrīqiya fī l-ʿaṣr al-waṣīt min khilāl Kitāb al-qisma wa uṣūl al-arḍayn li-Abī al-Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Fursuṭāʾī al-Nafūsī* (Tunis: Markaz al-nashr al-jāmiʿī, 1999).

[69] Muḥammad Maryamī, *Ibāḍiyyat jarba khilāl al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth* (Tunis: Kullīyat al-ādāb wa-l funūn wa-l insāniyyāt bi-Manūba, 2005).

[70] The Rustamid Imamate and the Rustamid-period, in particular, have received attention. E.g., see Baḥḥāz, *Al-Dawla al-rustamīyya 160-296 h / 777-909 m*; Mazhūdī, Masʿūd, *Jabal Nafūsa: mundhu intishār al-islām ḥattā hijrat banī hilāl ilā bilād al-maghrib*, (E-Book Edition: http://www.tawalt.com), 2 vols. (Tawalt, 2003).

well-known historical and geographical sources at the expense of the large corpora of other genres of Ibāḍī texts. Those earlier studies from the 20th century that drew on many other types of Ibāḍī texts, such as ʿAlī Yaḥyā Muʿammar's three volume *al-Ibāḍīyya fī kawkib al-tārīkh* or Sālim b. Yaʿqūb's *Tārīkh jazīrat jarba*,[71] often lacked even general references to their sources, making their accounts difficult to distinguish from those primary texts on which they relied. In the past several years, however, Ibāḍī historians in the Mzab valley have been publishing new research focused on preserving and drawing from Ibāḍī manuscript collections in the region. Their work, published in the academic journal *El-Minhaj* (*al-Minhāj*) since 2011,[72] presents studies based on unprecedented access to these manuscripts.

The work of Tunisian historian Ferhat Djaabiri (Farḥāt Jaʿbīrī) on the history of the *ʿazzāba* remains foundational for any historical study, whether in Arabic or European languages, on that institution in the Maghrib.[73] Djaabiri's book blends historical sources with his observations of the *ʿazzāba* system in the Mzab in the 1970s to reconstruct a long-term history of that system in Jarba. While a valuable and fascinating piece of scholarship, the work in many ways reproduces the narrative of its sources with relatively little analysis. Since the 2011 Tunisian revolution, Djaabiri has also spearheaded the activities of a new Ibāḍī association in Tunisia, the *Jamʿiyyat al-tawāṣul*, which sponsored two conferences held in Tunis on *siyar* literature in 2014 and 2015.

Finally, an additional fascinating trend in Ibāḍī history written in the Maghrib has been the emergence of sub-nationalist readings of Ibāḍī history that appropriate the term Amazigh or

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[71] Sālim b. Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh jazīrat jirba wa ʿulamāʾihā* (Tunis, 2009); ʿAlī Yaḥyā Muʿammar, *Al-Ibāḍiyya fī mawkib al-tārīkh*, 3 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1964).

[72] *El-Minhāj: dawriyya ʿilmiyya mutakhaṣṣiṣa fī makhṭūṭāt al-ibāḍiyya wa wādī mīzāb fī withāʾiqihā al-arshīfiyya* (2011-2015, ongoing). One of the only long-term historical studies of the Mzab valley was also published locally: Yūsuf Ibn Bakīr al-Ḥājj Saʿīd, *Tārīkh banī mzāb: dirāsa ijtimāʿiyya wa-iqtiṣādiyya wa-siyasiyya*, 3rd. ed. (Ghardaia, 2014).

[73] Djaabiri, *Niẓām al-ʿazzāba ʿind al-ibāḍiyya bi-jarba* (*L'Organisation des azzaba chez les ibadhites de Jerba*).

Imazighen.[74] The use of these terms, in part a response to the negative connotations of the earlier terms "Berbers," "Berbères," or *al-Barbar*, also attempts to apply retroactively a sense of Amazigh communal identity back into the pre-modern period.[75]

**The Corpus**

An overarching theme of the secondary scholarship on Ibāḍī communities outlined above has been the acknowledgement by several historians that Ibāḍī Islam represents a *tradition* that has required centuries of maintenance and (to borrow Adam Gaiser's term) elaboration in order to arrive at its present form. Many of the previous studies mentioned above have highlighted the cumulative nature of Ibāḍī literature as well as the key role played by networks of scholars in maintaining the memory and reality of Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib, in particular. While the present study builds upon these previous studies, it distinguishes itself in taking as its central theme this long-term process of network construction and tradition building.

In order to do so, it examines the standard corpus of works that make up the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in the Maghrib. Relying on this corpus, many studies on Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib since the 19th century written by historians have tended to follow a conservative

[74] E.g., see Mabrouk Mansouri, "The Image of Jews among Ibadi Imazighen in North Africa before the Tenth Century," in Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter, eds., *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 45–58; Mohamed Saad Chibani, *Tārīkh* [*al-*]*Ibāḍiyya* [*al-*]*tamāzigha* (*The History of Tamazgha Ibadis*) (Tunis: JMS Plus, 2013).

[75] On this and related historiographical issues see: Katherine E. Hoffman and Susan Gilson Miller, eds., *Berbers and Others: Beyond Tribe and Nation in the Maghrib*, 2010.

tradition. In some cases, previous studies followed the tradition of the Ibāḍī historians themselves almost to the point of reproducing verbatim the narratives of the principal Ibāḍī sources.

This has resulted in part from the reality that for decades this corpus has constituted the main reference point for Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib. Five works, spanning the era from the 11th to the 16th centuries and appearing in a variety of different printed editions and translations, dominate the footnotes of almost any secondary study of medieval Maghribi Ibāḍism in any language. These are:

1. Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārjalānī's (d.1078) *Kitāb siyar al-a'imma wa akhbārihim*
2. The *Siyar al-Wisyānī,* attributed to Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallah al-Wisyānī (d. late 12th century)
3. Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Darjīnī's (d. 13th c.), *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi-l-maghrib*
4. Abū l-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī's (d. early 15th century), *Kitāb al-Jawāhir al-muntaqāt fī itmām mā akhalla bihi kitāb al-tabaqāt*
5. Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. ʿAbd l-Wāḥid al-Shammākhī's (d.1521/22), *Kitāb al-Siyar*

In addition to reproducing the standard narratives of these works, many modern studies of Ibāḍī history in the Maghrib have also overlooked the significance of a key characteristic of these texts, namely, their remarkable interconnectedness and constitution of a corpus of prosopographical texts. Each of these works references its predecessor(s) and draws heavily on those earlier narratives. As a result, modern historians often cite two or more of these works as evidence of an event when in reality they are referring to the same narrative tradition recycled, revised, and augmented over several centuries.[76]

[76] This recycling of historical accounts resembles the structure (and accompanying historiographical challenges) of many Arabic geographical works from the medieval centuries, as explained by John Wansbrough in "Africa and the Arab Geographers" in David Dalby, University of London, and School of Oriental and African Studies, eds., *Language and History in Africa: A Volume of Collected Papers Presented to the London Seminar on Language and History in Africa* (*Held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1967-69*), (New York: Africana Pub. Corp., 1970), 89–101.

By contrast, this study takes as its central focus the intertextuality of these works, using their contents, contexts, and material remains as avenues for clarifying their collective achievement: the construction of the historical tradition of Ibāḍī Islam in the Maghrib. It does not, however, take as its aim a philological analysis or reconstruction of these works in an attempt to find the 'origins' of these texts. Rather, the study provides an alternative to the approach of traditional philology through the use of network analysis complemented by attention to the material remains of these texts in the form of their extant manuscript copies.

My attention to the transmission and manuscript history of this corpus also provides the explanation for limiting myself to five works of prosopography. The works analyzed here are not the only works of Ibāḍī *siyar* in the Maghrib.[77] Perhaps the earliest work of this genre, known as the *Kitāb Ibn Sallām*, appears to have been written at the end of the Rustamid period.[78] While the work was known to later historians, especially al-Shammākhī, it does not feature prominantly in the other works of the corpus and chronologically represents a very different period of Maghribi Ibāḍī history. Likewise, the text known under variations of the title the *Siyar al-Nafūsa* by 13th century historian al-Baghṭūrī most certainly represents a work of *siyar*.[79] Again, however, it lacks the intertextual relationship of the other five works in the corpus and the manuscript evidence for this work's transmission is extremely limited. For example, I know of only a single manuscript copy of it in all of

[77] A similar but in many ways distinct genre of *siyar* literature also exists in Oman, on which see: Abdulrahman Al Salimi, "Themes of the Ibadi/Omani Siyar," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54, no. 2 (2009): 475–514; Abdulrahman Al Salimi, "Identifying the Ibadi/Omani Siyar," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55, no. 1 (2010): 115–62.

[78] Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Kitāb fīhi bid' al-islām wa-sharā'i' ad-dīn*. It is also noteworthy that this edition was based on the only known manuscript copy of the work (transcribed in the 15th century and held in the now destroyed library of the al-Baʿṭūrī family in Jarba).

[79] Muqrīn b. Muḥammad al-Baghṭūrī, *Siyar mashāyikh nafūsa*, ed. Tawfīq ʿIyād al-Shuqrūnī ([Online edition]: Tawalt, 2009), http://www.tawalt.com/wp-content/books/tawalt_books/siyar_nafousa/siyar_nafousa.pdf.

the libraries of the Mzab valley.[80] That said, I suspect that Libyan Ibāḍī libraries hold several copies of this work, given the attention it pays to the Jabal Nafūsa and its history.[81]

**Network Analysis and Prosopography as Methodologies**

The fields of Greco-Roman, Late Antique and Byzantine studies in recent years have demonstrated the variety of ways in which historians can fruitfully apply network theory and analysis to pre-modern history.[82] For the most part, the study of medieval Islamic history has yet to follow suit,[83] although the power and utility of the network metaphor in describing Muslim societies has

[80] Makt. Irwān, MS 249 / *mīm ṣād,* "*Siyar ahl nafūsa*" (dated 15 Rajab 1401 /20 May 1981[!]).

[81] On the Libyan lacuna in Ibāḍī manuscript research, see below: "Chapter 6: The Ravages of Time."

[82] These include the classic study in early Christian history by Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 6 (1980): 1376–95. More recently, see Giovanni Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Adam Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Falko Daim and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, eds., *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems* (Mainz: RGZM, 2015). One important early application of network analysis to pre-modern history was: John F Padgett and Christopher K Ansell, "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434," *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 6 (1993): 1259–1319. More recently, Paul Mclean again applied some of the tools and concepts of network analysis to Medici-era Italy: Paul Douglas McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2007).

[83] The pioneering 1978 study by Dominique Urvoy on the networks of medieval Andalusi scholars is an important exception, though its use of network analysis appears to have been somewhat difficult for other historians to follow and did not inspire other similar studies in Islamic history: Dominique Urvoy, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du V/XIe au VII/XIIIe siècle: étude sociologique* (Geneva: Droz, 1978). Recent work by Anne Bang on Sufi networks in the Indian Ocean provides a fascinating model for the use of the network metaphor as an analytic tool, especially in her discussion of book networks. See "Travelling Texts: Arabic Literate Learning in Coastal East Africa, c.1860-1930" in Anne K Bang, *Islamic Sufi Networks in the Western Indian Ocean* (*C. 1880-1940*)*: Ripples of Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 108–42. Two more recent collection of studies on 'Muslim networks' reflects the more common use of the term as an abstract metaphor bearing little resemblance to the field of network studies: Stefano Allievi and Jørgen S. Nielsen, eds., *Muslim Networks and Transnational Communities in and Across Europe* (Brill, 2003); Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence, eds., *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). One recent study, which unfortunately came to my attention at a late stage in this project, offers a prosopographical analysis of the early Islamic elite in the Ḥijāz, building on the data collected from *ṭabaqāt* and similar biographical sources: Asad Q. Ahmed, *The Religious Elite of the Early Islamic Ḥijāz: Five Prosopographical Case Studies* (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2011).

been a feature of the field of Islamic history for decades.[84] The employment and application of network analysis to medieval Muslim communities carries the potential for re-conceptualizing the nature of both historical topics and source material. In the case of the first, network theory and analysis offer methods for quantifying and visualizing the qualitative data of what are often the foci of studies of medieval Islamic history: religious communities, citation and transmission of prophetic sayings (*ḥadīth*), court patronage circles, intellectual communities, and trade routes. As for the material remains of sources, approaching the rich collections of extant manuscripts as actors and participants in the history of Islam rather than as static banks of raw data allows the complex and fascinating traditions of knowledge transmission to come alive.

These two potential contributions of network theory and analysis to the study of Islamic history initially appear contradictory. Does quantifying the qualitative data of narrative sources not amount to treating them as mere repositories of data? How does this procedure differ from the socio-economic studies of the 1960s and 1970s? The key difference here lies in a number of changes undergone by the field of history in the past several decades.

Perhaps the most significant are the effects of the linguistic turn in historical study. The linguistic turn represented a shift in the approach to language and texts not as sources to be mined for facts but as representations, which constitute sources in and of themselves. In the case of Ibāḍī prosopographical literature, representations of the community's history, the relationships between its

[84] Ira Lapidus may have been the first to present what he called 'Islamic societies' as networks: Ira M. Lapidus, "Hierarchies and Networks: A Comparison of Chinese and Islamic Societies," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Carolyn Grant (Berkeley, 1975), 26–42.

individuals, the exemplars that fill their pages, and the structure of the works themselves constitute the qualitative data.

As they make the transition from qualitative to quantitative, historians must now acknowledge that the quantitative analysis of sources necessarily relies on qualitative considerations.[85] Numbers of people, for example, cannot be 'mined' from a text and plotted on a chart or map without consideration as to *why* these people are mentioned and what role they play in that text. While mapping relationships among individual scholars, it remains crucial to understand that these figures appear in sources for particular reasons or, sometimes, simply by chance. This allows for historians to visualize qualitative data in quantitative form without misrepresenting it as objective representation.

More specific to medieval studies, the 'New Philology' also has much to contribute to efforts to apply network analysis to the study of Islamic history. Medievalist proponents of the New Philology in the 1990s offered critiques of the traditional philological approach to the editing of texts and the creation of scholarly editions.[86] By collating multiple versions of the same text in order to reconstruct an archetype text, this approach flattens the dynamic processes involved in text transmission (whether oral, written, or some combination of these).[87] In addition, the process of creating a scholarly edition itself results in the creation of a *new text*. Rather than attempting to reconstruct texts

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[85] Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, "From Quantitative to Qualitative and Back Again. The Interplay between Structure and Culture and the Analysis of Networks in Pre-Modern Societies," in *Multiplying the Middle Ages: New Methods and Approaches for the Study of the Multiplicity of the Middle Ages in a Global Perspective*, ed. E. Mitsiou, M. Popovic, and J. Preiser-Kapeller (Vienna, 2014), [Author's version made available via Academia.edu at: http://www.academia.edu/4940922/From_quantitative_to_qualitative_and_back_again._The_interplay_between_structure_and_culture_and_the_analysis_of_networks_in_pre-modern_societies].

[86] Stephen G. Nichols, ed., "The New Philology," *Speculum* [*Special Issue*] 65, no. 1 (1990).

[87] Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam: from the Aural to the Read*, trans. Shawkat Toorawa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

and seeking to make them converge, network analysis offers the potential to map out and understand the diffusion of texts and ideas. This study focuses on that diffusion and the role of the movement of both manuscripts and people in constructing and maintaining connections.

The New Philology did not, however, call for an end to traditional philology. As proponents of the former worked with manuscripts, they had to thank the latter for their own ability to challenge master narratives of history with every unique manuscript. Without the existence of a long tradition of collating and editing of texts to produce archetypal 'originals,' it would be much more difficult to have any sense of what makes each manuscript unique. Furthermore, the New Philology did not go so far as to assume that the contents of multiple copies of similar texts do not share much in common. Instead, its proponents suggested that when manuscript copyists neglected to include portions of a text, added new chapters or subtitles, rearranged folios, or wrote glosses in the margins, these instances do not represent scribal errors.[88] As such, they serve as testaments to the complex processes and often-strategic choices involved in the production and transmission of knowledge.

Network analysis offers one way of thinking about these processes and the changes to the manuscripts themselves. The physical features of the manuscripts (paper, binding, watermarks, colophons, marginalia, ownership statements, etc.) allow historians to situate each manuscript in time and space, providing a guide to mapping the movement and transmission of texts.

[88] In her study of the comparatively much more formalized notaries and scribes of colonial-era Peru, Kathryn Burns described this power of the scribe to act as mediator and creator of the archival record: Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

**Prosopographical Ibāḍī Works: Sources for Network Analysis**

Several studies on Islamic lands from the past few decades have examined what historians generally refer to as "biographical dictionaries" and *ṭabaqāt* works, especially from the 11th-16th centuries.[89] The present study examines a similar category of literature from the same period, which I choose to call Ibāḍī prosopographical literature. Similar to the prosopographical "lives" genre of Late Antique Christianity, the Northern African Ibāḍī *siyar* and *ṭabaqāt* works produced from the 11th to the 16th centuries use the lives of individuals to frame the history of their religious community. As such, the Ibāḍī prosopographies function not as collections of biographies but as *collective biographies*. In distinguishing between biography and prosopography, Chase Robinson noted:

> [W]hereas biography is about exemplary or otherwise distinctive individuals, prosopography compiles and organizes those items of biographical data that mark an individual's belonging to a group. Biographies accentuate the individual; prosopographies make individuals members…Some of these groups, such as schools of legal thought, generated powerful ties of loyalty, and in these cases, the members felt a correspondingly powerful (if not necessarily exclusive) sense of membership.[90]

Similarly, the compilers of the texts of the prosopographical corpus of Ibāḍī works used anecdotal and biographical data on individuals to create a collective biography of the Ibāḍī community. The

[89] The classic study of the *ṭabaqāt* genre is: Ibrahim Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe [1]," *Arabica* 23 (1976): 227–65; Ibrahim Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe [2]," *Arabica* 24 (1977): 1–41; Ibrahim Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe [3]," *Arabica* 24 (1977): 150–86. For a more recent take on the genre and a literature review see "An overview of the Ṭabaqāt genre" in Kevin Jacques, *Authority, Conflict, and the Transmission of Diversity in Medieval Islamic Law* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2006), 10–16. Cf. Idem, "Arabic Islamic Prosopography: The Tabaqat Genre," in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford: Occasional Publications, 2007), 387–414. The best-known studies on biographical literature include Richard W Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur; a Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972); Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography the Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of Al-Ma'mūn* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). The genre and recent studies are surveyed in Michael Cooperson, "Chapter 18: Biographical Literature," in *New Cambridge History of Islam: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 458–73.

[90] Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 66.

cumulative result was that the prosopographies played a crucial role in generating ties of loyalty among Ibāḍīs.

Along with a sense of membership, the Ibāḍī prosopographies likewise imbue the collective group of scholars whose lives they describe with authority. Although he was discussing *ṭabaqāt* works specifically, the observations of Kevin Jacques on the purpose of individual entries in these kinds of texts deserve note:

> Entries are composed…not just in order to create a particular rhetorical image of [their] subject, but also to depict larger themes about the development of authority within a religious discipline as it develops over time. Tabaqat texts are not just devoted to understanding the authority of individuals, but the authorities of ideas and networks of ideas and how they come to form sub-schools of thought within that tradition.[91]

Viewed from this perspective, each of the medieval Ibāḍī *sịyar* works discussed here represents a component in a larger corpus of prosopographical works aimed at outlining the legitimacy of a network of scholars and the cohesiveness of a community's history rather than the lives of the individuals who constitute it.

Treating these sources as prosopographies rather than biographies also encourages the use of network analysis as a tool for studying them. The language of network theory in which networks comprise vertices (or 'nodes') and the edges (or 'links') that connect them, suits the study of a religious minority and its literature that seeks to draw the *edges* of the community by marking the actors (both human and non-human) who represent those boundaries. On the narrative level, each of the prosopographies marks the edges of community through the inclusion or exclusion of certain individuals. Likewise, they link those individuals across time and space either by explicitly noting

[91] Jacques, "Arabic Islamic Prosopography: The Tabaqat Genre," 408.

relationships between them or simply by situating them within the same tradition through their inclusion in the prosopography. On the material level, the manuscripts themselves serve to create links between individual scholars through their compilation, copying, and movement. The approach of network analysis allows for the conceptualizing of these webs of relationships both within and among the Ibāḍī prosopographies.

Like the famous biographical dictionaries of medieval Damascus or Cairo, these Ibāḍī prosopographies contain onomastic, geographical, and temporal data that carry the potential for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of cultural history. Unlike many of their contemporary equivalents, however, the Ibāḍī prosopographical works are far from uniform and do not easily lend themselves to, for example, text-mining according to set patterns using regular expressions or similar digital tools.[92] Each of the five major works under consideration bears unique features that distinguish it from its counterparts. At the same time, several salient features as well as the remarkable intertextuality of these works support my practice of treating them as part of the same prosopographical tradition. In addition, medieval and modern Ibāḍī literature refers to these works as belonging to the same category of *siyar*.

[92] As has been done, for example, with the *Tārīkh al-islām* by al-Dhahabī in the work of Maxim Romanov, "Computational Reading of Arabic Biographical Collections with Special Reference to Preaching in the Sunni World (661--1300 CE)" (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2014). An earlier version of the methodological approach is summarized in: Idem, "Toward the Digital History of the Pre-Modern Muslim World: Developing Text-Mining Techniques for the Study of Arabic Biographical Collections," in *Methods and Means for Digital Analysis of Ancient and Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Leuven, 2013).

**Competing Concepts of Network**

One important choice of terminology throughout this study bears significant methodological implications: the term **network theory**. Social network theory (SNT), as it has developed in the field of sociology since the mid-20th century, takes as its object the study of relationships between humans.[93] This assumes, whether implicitly or explicitly, that relationships between humans differ in important ways from those among non-human actors. By contrast, the more recent critiques in the late 20th and early 21st century by proponents of Actor-Network theory (ANT) have argued that *any* kind of relationship is inherently social and that those forced to define the meaning of the word 'social' will quickly find themselves wrapped up in a tautology.[94] This critique applies equally to the study of social networks, which rely as much on the infrastructures, tools and mechanisms of communication as they do on human agency. Furthermore, recent work in the broader field of network theory has argued that the structural patterns underlying networks apply equally both to humans and to non-humans. Network studies by computer scientists, epidemiologists, historians, and sociologists yield similar results in terms of network structure, growth, maintenance, and even destruction.[95]

This study attempts to find a compromise between these competing theories of networks by focusing primarily on the *structure* of the networks described in the Ibāḍī prosopographies. Many of the tools employed in this study developed out of the research of network theorists working in fields

[93] E.g., this is the explicit premise of Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[94] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[95] This is the overarching argument of the synthetic studies on networks by Albert-László Barabási, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, Mass.: Perseus, 2002); Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler, *Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2009).

like economics or sociology. At the same time, an overarching theme is that human actors did not (indeed, *could not*) construct these networks alone. Instead, it seeks to demonstrate the important role played by manuscripts in this process. From ANT, I borrow the idea that:

> Universality or order are not the rule but the exceptions that have to be accounted for. Loci, contingencies or clusters are more like archipelagos on a sea than like lakes dotting a solid land.[96]

The perspective offered here argues that the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib emerged out of constructed, constantly reinvented and maintained connections among the people, books, and places that make up the 'Ibāḍī *archipelago*.'[97] Behind the orderly and unified history of the Ibāḍī community and its literary corpora lie dense webs of written connections whose creation and continual growth took a lot of effort to maintain.

In this study, I choose two kinds of actors (humans and manuscripts) as my foci and seek equilibrium between theories and approaches that privilege only human or non-human actors. The choice of focusing on these two particular kinds of actors relates directly to the purpose and character of the literature of Maghribi Ibāḍī *siyar*. I am arguing that just as the prosopographical corpus seeks to establish connections and to draw the boundaries of community in the form of a written network, so too do the production, distribution, and use of the manuscript copies of works of that genre achieve similar goals by establishing a material network. Furthermore, the two processes are inextricably linked and complementary.

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[96] Bruno Latour, "On Actor-Network Theory. A Few Clarifications plus More than a Few Complications.," *Soziale Welt* 47 (1996): 372.

[97] The metaphor of the Ibāḍī archipelago comes from: Aillet, "L'ibâḍisme, une minorité au cœur de l'islam."

**Principles of Network Analysis**

The term '**network**' likewise requires clarification. In network analysis, a network consists of a number of **nodes** (or '**vertices**,') connected to each other by **links** (or '**edges**').[98] Network theories and analyses argue there are advantages to thinking about relationships among things in this way. Namely, the study of networks assumes *a priori* that the relationships among various nodes themselves constitute an item for inquiry and analysis.[99] The present study uses network analysis as a tool for understanding the relationships among people and manuscripts because these relationships can reveal something important about the structure and maintenance of the Ibāḍī tradition in Northern Africa. The focus of network analysis on the **structure** of the relationships means that analysts have an interest in identifying patterns underlying the formation, growth, and sometimes the destruction of these relationships.

Network analysts employ dozens of concepts in order to construct theoretical and mathematical explanations for the formation and function of networks. This study makes special use of three interrelated concepts:

(1) Degree and Degree Distribution
(2) Hubs
(3) Small-World and 'Scale-Free' Networks

(1) **Degree.** This term refers to the number of edges any given node has. A degree can serve as a quantitative indicator of a node's relative importance in the network. Determining this importance

[98] Mark Newman, *Networks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1.
[99] On the appropriateness or inappropriateness of networks as an analytic frame and tool for certain questions, see Scott Weingart, "Demystifying Networks, Parts I and II," *Journal of Digital Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2011), http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/1-1/demystifying-networks-by-scott-weingart/.

depends on the type of network in question and the priorities of the analyst. When taken together and compared, the degrees of all of the nodes in the network can be visualized as a way of identifying which nodes have especially high degrees. The graph used to depict this comparison, often a histogram, shows the **degree distribution** of the network.

A simplified example would be a teacher who has five students, none of whom know each other. This gives the teacher a degree of 5, while each of the students has a degree of 1. Together, they make up a network with the teacher in the center (Figure 1).

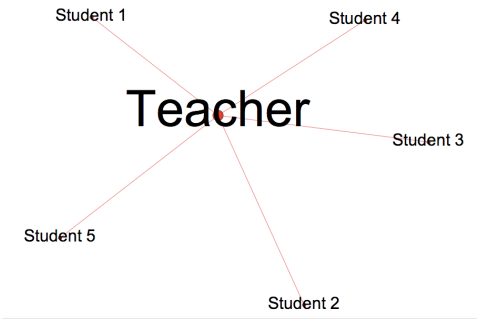



**Figure 1: A simple teacher-student network. The number of links, or the degree, of the teacher is 5 while each of the students have a degree of 1.**

(2) **Hubs.** In most 'real-world' networks (whether among bacteria, people, or computers), certain nodes have far higher degrees than the average. Analysts call these especially well-connected nodes "**hubs.**" These nodes hold special importance for understanding the connections between various components in a network. In addition, their removal or destruction can have an important impact on the network's structure.

In the same example (Figure 1), the teacher would be considered the hub of the network because he has far more edges than any other node in the network. Also, note the key importance of

the hub as a connector among all other students. If the teacher were removed from the network, that would leave no relationships among any of the students and the destruction of the network.

(3) **Small-World and Scale-Free Networks.** Taking its name from the pioneering study by Stanley Milgram in the 1960s,[100] a 'small-world' network relates to the more popular term 'six degrees of separation.' The presence of hubs in a network means that the path between any two given nodes in most real-world networks (called the **network diameter**) remains remarkably small.

Likewise, in a small-world network, the degree distribution often follows a set pattern in which a handful of nodes have extremely high degrees (hubs) and a much larger majority have far lower degrees. In contrast to a 'random' network, this kind of network is referred to as a 'scale-free network.'[101] When visualized, the degree distribution of a scale-free network forms a dramatic slope. (Figure 2).

[100] Jeffrey Travers and Stanley Milgram, "An Experimental Study of the Small World Problem," *Sociometry* 32, no. 4 (1969): 425–43.
[101] Albert-László Barabási and Eric Bonabeau, "Scale-Free Networks.," *Scientific American* 288, no. 5 (2003): 60–69.

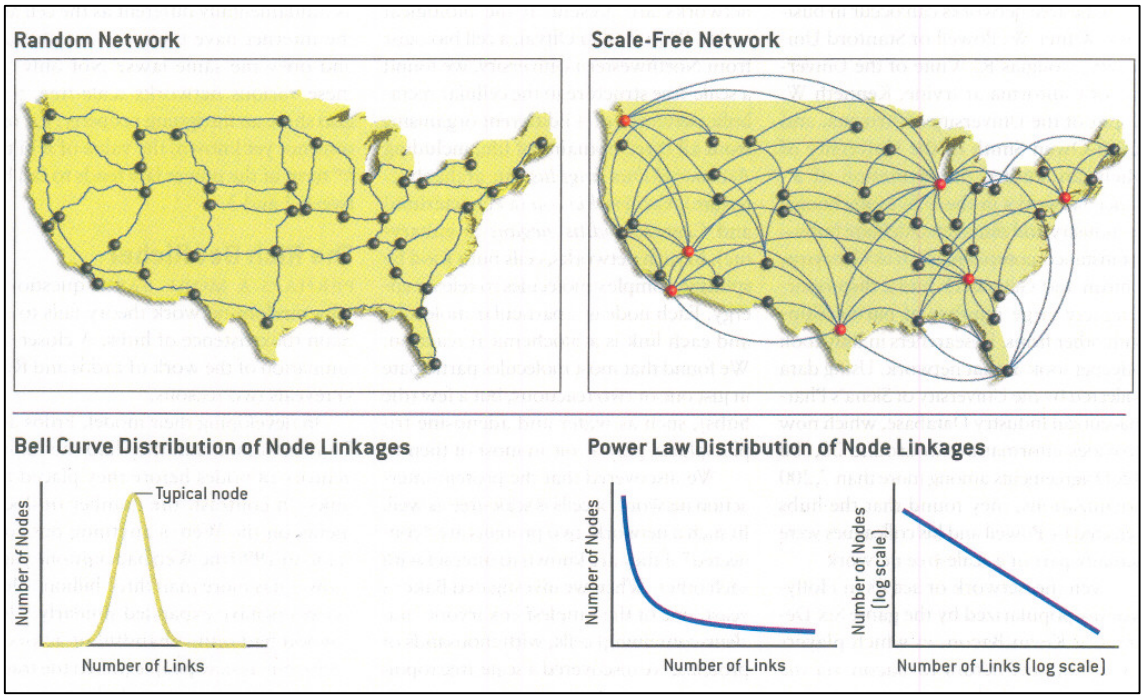



Figure 2: Random vs. Scale-Free Networks (Source: Barbási and Bonabeau, "Scale-Free Networks," 53).

**The Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus: Method of Analysis**

I employ the above-mentioned concepts from network analysis and theory while altering them to suit the aims of a historical study. The adoption of these tools requires a clear explanation of the methodology used. To begin with, the present work examines a well-known corpus of five Northern African Ibāḍī works with dates ranging from the 11th to the early 16th centuries. The first part of the study examines specific editions of these texts:

1. **Al-Wārjalānī (d.1078)**, Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr, *Kitāb siyar al-a'imma wa-akhbārihim*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ayyūb, ed. (Tunis, 1985).
2. **Al-Wisyānī (d. late 12th c.)** Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallah, *Siyar al-Wisyānī*, ʿUmar Buʿaṣbāna, ed., 3. Vols. (Muscat, 2009).
3. **Al-Darjīnī (d. late 13th c.)** Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi-l-maghrib*, Ibrāhīm Ṭallay, ed., 2 Vols. (Constantine, 1974).
4. **Al-Barrādī (d. early 15th c.),** Abū l-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-Jawāhir al-muntaqāt fi itmām mā akhalla bihi kitāb al-tabaqāt* (Litho., Cairo, N.D.)
5. **Al-Shammākhī (d.1521/22)**, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. ʿAbd l-Wāḥid, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Muḥammad Ḥasan, ed., 3 vols. (Beirut, 2009).

Preference or necessity determined the choice to use these editions. The first two works in the corpus, the *Kitāb al-sīra,* the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*, and the final work, the *Kitāb al-siyar*, have appeared in multiple printed editions. This study relies on the most recent of these. By contrast, the second and third works in the corpus, the *Ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh* and the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, have each appeared in only only one printed edition (a 19th century lithograph in the case of the latter).[102]

The first half of the study approaches this corpus at the narrative level, employing network analysis to analyze the printed editions of these texts. Following the analysis of the contents of the printed editions of the prosopographical corpus, the second half then turns to an analysis of the extant manuscript copies of these works. Since the methodology used to catalog those manuscripts eventually came to serve as part of the study itself, a detailed explanation of the archives and libraries housing these manuscripts and the methodology and structure underlying the database serve as the subject of an independent chapter (see "Chapter 6: The Ravages of Time" below).

### *The Written Networks: Methodology*

In order to compile the data used throughout this work for network analysis, this study follows a uniform model for identifying relationships between human actors. In every case in which a prosopography referred to an instance of interaction in person, that instance constitutes an edge (or 'link'). This did not include, for example, exchanges of letters or messengers between individuals. It also did not include statements of transmission (what might in a different context be called *isnād*s)

[102] A recent edition of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* appeared in publication in London but I have yet to see a physical copy of that edition. Many thanks go to Cyrille Aillet for letting me know of its existence. al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb Al-Jawāhir Al-Muntaqāt*, ed. Aḥmad b. Saʿūd al-Siyābī (London: Dār al-Ḥikma, 2014). On printing technology and modern print editions of the Ibāḍī prosopographies, see below: "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus."

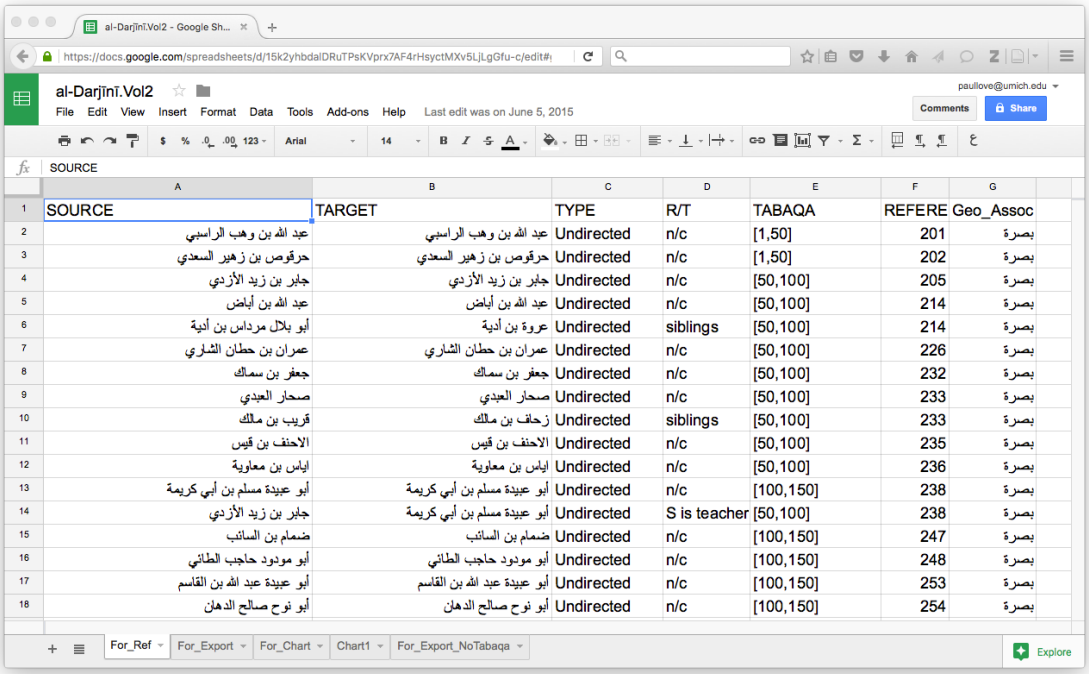
unless the originator of the anecdote referred specifically to meeting someone else. The choice not to include these types of connections stemmed from the impossibility of determining whether this information came from a person or a book. Likewise, it did not include even explicit references to the written works of other individuals because this constitutes a fundamentally different kind of relationship.

Finally, in order to include those individuals who appear in the text but have no direct connections with others, I assigned those scholars a 'self-edge' or 'self-loop' in order to insure they still appear in the overall list of scholars in the network. Other than personal interaction as defined here, chains of transmission, textual citations, and many other kinds of links could serve to demonstrate other layers of connectivity among Ibāḍī scholars in these texts. Based on the theory behind network structures, however, even if these connections were accounted for the aim of these prosopographies and the structure of the networks they construct would remain the same.

These five sources do not provide a level of detail that would allow for distinguishing different *types* of relationships. As a result, I treated all instances of personal interaction as equivalent. This comes with the concession that in everyday reality relationships between people are not equal and, furthermore, that the nature of relationships does not remain static over time. Examples including accompanying one person on *ḥajj*, studying with another, or sharing a meal with yet another represent a spectrum of relationships. Likewise, a student who eventually becomes the peer of his teacher has (at least) two very different kinds of relationships with that individual. However, the vast majority of individuals discussed in these prosopographies are scholars or pious individuals to be

imitated and this study argues that the connections drawn among these people—regardless of their type—aim to draw them into the same written community of individuals.

Following this model, I noted all instances of personal interaction in each of the five works in a spreadsheet, with each node in a separate column, labeled "Source" and "Target" (Figure 3).[103]



al-Darjīnī.Vol2

| SOURCE | TARGET | TYPE | R/T | TABAQA | REFERE | Geo_Assoc |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| عبد الله بن وهب الراسبي | عبد الله بن وهب الراسبي | Undirected | n/c | [1,50] | 201 | بصرة |
| حرقوص بن زهير السعدي | حرقوص بن زهير السعدي | Undirected | n/c | [1,50] | 202 | بصرة |
| جابر بن زيد الأزدي | جابر بن زيد الأزدي | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 205 | بصرة |
| عبد الله بن أباض | عبد الله بن أباض | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 214 | بصرة |
| أبو بلال مرداس بن أدية | عروة بن أدية | Undirected | siblings | [50,100] | 214 | بصرة |
| عمران بن حطان الشاري | عمران بن حطان الشاري | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 226 | بصرة |
| جعفر بن سماك | جعفر بن سماك | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 232 | بصرة |
| صحار العبدي | صحار العبدي | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 233 | بصرة |
| قريب بن ملك | زحاف بن ملك | Undirected | siblings | [50,100] | 233 | بصرة |
| الاحنف بن قيس | الاحنف بن قيس | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 235 | بصرة |
| اياس بن معاوية | اياس بن معاوية | Undirected | n/c | [50,100] | 236 | بصرة |
| أبو عبيدة مسلم بن أبي كريمة | أبو عبيدة مسلم بن أبي كريمة | Undirected | n/c | [100,150] | 238 | بصرة |
| جابر بن زيد الأزدي | أبو عبيدة مسلم بن أبي كريمة | Undirected | S is teacher | [50,100] | 238 | بصرة |
| ضمام بن السائب | ضمام بن السائب | Undirected | n/c | [100,150] | 247 | بصرة |
| أبو مودود حاجب الطائي | أبو مودود حاجب الطائي | Undirected | n/c | [100,150] | 248 | بصرة |
| أبو عبيدة عبد الله بن القاسم | أبو عبيدة عبد الله بن القاسم | Undirected | n/c | [100,150] | 253 | بصرة |
| أبو نوح صالح الدهان | أبو نوح صالح الدهان | Undirected | n/c | [100,150] | 254 | بصرة |

**Figure 3: A screenshot from a Google Sheets page of relationships from the second volume of al-Darjīnī's Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt**

This spreadsheet format could then be imported into a variety of different network-visualization programs. The software used for the visualizations in this study was *Gephi*, an open-source network

[103] One difficulty I encountered regularly in recording instances of interaction was variation in the names of individuals. In most cases, I was able to use several reference works to compare names and identify variations. I suspect, however, that at least a few instances of the same individual appearing in the graphs as two different people occur. In places where only a *kunya* (e.g. "Abū ʿAbdallāh) was noted, I relied upon context and location in the text to determine the identity of the individual. In other words, the process of identifying individuals was not always straightforward. In the future, I am hoping to devise a more sophisticated method, perhaps using 'refining' software, to identity duplicates in the list of relationships.

mapping software.[104] When visualized in Gephi, the size of a name in a graph reflects its number of links. For example, in the example above (Figure 1), the word "Teacher" appears much larger than the other nodes because it has far more connections than them.

For network summaries (average degree, network diameter, and so forth) of each work, the study relies on the algorithms built into the *Gephi* software. As for the degree distribution graphs, a combination of *Google Sheet* graphs and *Gephi* were used to create those. Each chapter focuses on a different tool of network analysis. The focus of each stems primarily from the structure of the data compiled for each work. No two works share the same structure and so while the model for compiling the data described above was used consistently, each chapter employs a different concept or tool to approach those data.

Finally, the study assumes that while the relationships in these graphs may represent networks active in the century in which the texts were compiled, they most certainly represent the network constructed by these prosopographies over the period of their compilation. Arguing that the written network consists of a set of constructions does not suggest that it was less 'real' than the interactions that made it up. The written network was very real to listening and reading audiences, future generations of scholars, and even present day Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī historians. In referring to it as constructed, this study suggests that regardless of whether the interactions they describe took place in time and space, they *occurred in the text* and that in and of itself created something very real.

[104] M. Bastian, S. Heymann, and M. Jacomy, *Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks*, version 0.8.2, n.d.

**Chapter Outlines**

Chapter One sets the stage in the 11th century for the formation of the first iteration of the written network and the beginnings of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in the Middle Period by focusing on the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*. This work, attributed to the 11th century scholar Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārjalānī, constitutes the foundation upon which later works in the corpus built. Methodologically, the chapter visualizes the written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra* to examine its key actors. The chapter also emphasizes the 11th century as a pivotal moment in Ibāḍī history that gave rise to the prosopographical tradition.

Chapter Two follows the tradition into the 12th century through an examination of the composite work known as the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*. Using anecdotes and features of this textual tradition, the chapter highlights the growing importance of manuscript books as sources of authority and actors in the construction and maintenance of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib. In addition to books, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* also begins the process of distinguishing Ibāḍīs from their contemporaries in the Maghrib and within the community by highlighting the distinguished role of the *ʿazzāba* scholars. Visualizing the network of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* demonstrates the growth of the written network as it absorbed and added to the tradition begun by the *Kitāb al-sīra*. In addition, the chapter uses the geographic breakup of the texts to visualize the importance of specific regions of the Maghrib in the maintenance of the network.

Chapter Three analyzes the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* by the 13th century Ibāḍī scholar Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Darjīnī. This work distinguished itself from its predecessors in a variety of ways, and the chapter shows how al-Darjīnī incorporated the entirety of the first part of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and many

other texts in his own composition. The overarching theme is the formalization of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in the 13th century, evidenced in the structure of the text into neatly defined periods of 50 years (*ṭabaqāt*) and in the increasingly formalized definitions of the *ʿazzāba*. This division allows for two different types of visualizations of the written network. In the first, comparing the network of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* to that of the *Kitāb al-sīra* demonstrates how al-Darjīnī refined and formalized the written network of his predecessors in the prosopographical tradition. In the second, after separating the network into the chronological divisions, visualizations of the written network show the prominence of specific generations of scholars.

Chapter Four follows the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition into a new phase of formalization in the 14th century with the study of Abū l-Qāsīm al-Barrādī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt*. This work, nominally a revision and complement to al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, actually situates the Ibāḍī tradition within the much larger history of Islam by connecting the Maghribi Ibāḍī communities to the earliest generations of Muslims. Al-Barrādī's *Jawāhir*, unlike its predecessors in the prosopographical tradition, does not present a series of anecdotes of scholars. As such, the work does not lend itself as easily to the use of network analysis. However, the textual tradition of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* includes a list of Ibāḍī written works known to al-Barrādī. The chapter uses this book list to consider the importance of Ibāḍī manuscripts in the 14th century, highlighting the popularity (or, at least, notoriety) of specific genres and what the *Jawāhir* suggests about Ibāḍī manuscript libraries in the author's lifetime.

Chapter Five looks briefly at the final work of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition from the Middle Period, the *Kitāb al-siyar* by Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Shammākhī written in the late 15th or early 16th

century. The chapter shows how the compiler of the *Kitāb al-siyar* incorporated and maintained the entirety of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition before it, while at the same time adding to it by including many additional texts and adding biographies of his near-contemporaries. Likewise, it demonstrates that the late-Hafsid era in which al-Shammākhī lived made possible this great work of historical synthesis. Finally, the chapter uses network analysis to visualize the long-term written network of Ibāḍī scholars described in the *Kitāb al-siyar*, demonstrating how this final work of prosopography outlines the broad contours of the Ibāḍī tradition over five centuries.

Chapter Six describes the methodology underlying the survey of extant manuscript copies of the five texts analyzed in the first half of the study as well as the broad results of that survey. This includes an overview of the libraries and archives that today hold copies of Ibāḍī prosopographical texts and how these help to shape the discussions of those manuscripts that follow. The chapter notes the centrality of particular periods and locations for the production of Ibāḍī manuscripts and how the prosopographies reflect broader trends in manuscript production and in the trade of paper in Northern Africa from the 15$^{th}$ century forward.

Chapter Seven uses the descriptions of extant manuscripts in the database to discuss Ibāḍī manuscript culture from the late medieval period to the 20$^{th}$ century. This includes using watermark evidence to trace the origins of the paper upon which these texts were written, the production and social uses of the manuscripts by scribes and scholars, as well as the transmission among individuals and storage of these texts in collections. The chapter gives special attention to the centrality of the Ibāḍī agency, library, and school in Cairo, the *Wikālat al-jāmūs,* to early-modern Ibāḍī manuscript production.

Chapter Eight draws from the previous two chapters as well as the first half of the study to conceptualize the movement of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus as an orbital circuit of people and manuscripts. It argues that this orbital movement of texts and people, the 'material network,' in turn allowed for the maintenance of the written network from the 15th to the 20th centuries. The chapter then looks briefly at the lives of three Ibāḍī scholars from the late 19th and early 20th centuries and shows how the trajectories of their careers demonstrate the orbital nature of the material network as well as the processes behind the formation of the modern Ibāḍī manuscript archive.

# Chapter 1:
# Writing a Network, Constructing a Tradition

The *Kitāb al-sīra* and Ibāḍī Communities of the Maghrib (10th-mid-11th c.)

**Introduction**

When the Fatimid army brought the Rustamid dynasty of Tāhart to an end in 909CE, Ibāḍīs receded from the spotlight of Maghribi history. But shortly after exiting the main stage of dynastic theater in the region, Ibāḍīs began in earnest to work toward the creation of something new: a tradition. In the two centuries following the Rustamids, Ibāḍī scholars responded to their increasing political and religious marginalization by cultivating relationships among themselves and the memory of their predecessors. Out of this growing number of connections among people and places in the 10th and 11th centuries emerged a genre of literature, prosopography, that linked the Rustamid past to a new era in which Ibāḍī scholars and the networks connecting them marked the boundaries of a tradition and a community.

Under the Rustamids (779-909CE), local Ibāḍī scholars and tribal leaders of the Maghrib had held effective control over Ibāḍī communities throughout the region.[105] Ibāḍī communities lived in towns and villages that marked frontier zones between the Rustamids and their neighbors, the Aghlabids. The power of the Imam, distant and abstract, would have had little effect on everyday life.

[105] Paul M. Love, "Djerba and the Limits of Rustamid Power. Considering the Ibāḍī Community of Djerba under the Rustamid Imāms of Tāhert (779-909CE)," *Al-Qanṭara* 33, no. 2 (2012): 297–323.

While historians have previously considered the formation of the Ibāḍī council-rule system of the *ʿazzāba* as a reaction to the dissolution of the Rustamid Imamate,[106] little suggests that this system represented something entirely new.

Not until after the Rustamids disappeared did a real theory of the power and role of the Imam develop.[107] For this reason, it makes little sense to discuss the *ʿazzāba* as sudden, direct heirs to the authority and role of the Imams. Instead, the *ʿazzāba* tradition represents the Ibāḍī version of a widespread and far older practice of council leadership among the Berber communities of Northern Africa.[108] At the same time, modern historians have described the change from Imams to *ʿazzāba* in this way for good reason: medieval Ibāḍī scholars themselves produced these texts and they served as the creators of this seemingly natural transition.

In the towns and villages of the Maghrib, Ibāḍīs directed their questions and concerns on religious matters to the most learned scholars among them—evidenced by a large number of such *responsa* from both during and after the Rustamid era preserved in Ibāḍī literature including legal and theological texts, prosopographies, and histories. On occasion, they relayed those questions to the Imams themselves, preserving these written correspondences for posterity.[109] Ultimately, however,

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[106] E.g., Djaabiri, *Niẓām al-ʿazzāba ʿind al-ibāḍiyya bi-jarba* (*L'Organisation des azzaba chez les ibadhites de Jerba*); Brahim Cherifi, "La Ḥalqa des ʿazzāba: un nouveau regard sur l'histoire d'une institution religieuse ibāḍite," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 7, no. 1 (2005): 39–68; Virginie Prévost, "Genèse et développement de la ḥalqa chez les ibāḍites maghrébins," in *Les scribes et la transmission du savoir*, vol. 19, Acta Orientalia Belgica (Bruxelles, 2006), 109–24.
[107] Gaiser, "The Ibāḍī 'stages of Religion' re-Examined"; Gaiser, *Muslims, Scholars, Soldiers: The Origins and Elaboration of the Ibāḍī Imamate Traditions*.
[108] Similar observations have been made about the nature of Almohad governance in North Africa. See: Maribel Fierro, "The Almohads and Hafsids," in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 68. At the same time, this reading could reflect long-held assumptions about Berber societies held by anthropologists and archaeologists: See the beginning of "The Society and its Habitat" in Brett and Fentress, *The Berbers*, 231–34.
[109] Perhaps most famously, the *Jawābāt* of Rustamid Imams ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum and his son Aflaḥ, mentioned by al-Barrādī in his *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt*. On this and other works see Chapter 4, "Retroactive

the scholars of the community represented the voice of authority in the villages and towns of the Maghrib. Indeed, contemporary Maliki scholars in Ifrīqiyā commanded a comparable degree of influence.[110] Ibāḍī prosopographical literature, produced by the same class of scholars whose lives it chronicled, depicts the role of these individuals moving from localized leadership to one of regional importance in the face of the community's political, numerical, and religious marginalization in the changing landscape of the medieval Maghrib from the late 10th and early 11th centuries forward.

A prosopographical work compiled in the two centuries following the conquest of Tāhart, the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*,[111] reflects this growing importance of individual scholars and the formation of a network among them in this period. This chapter demonstrates how the *Kitāb al-sīra* used the stories of individuals, whether as sources of memory or paragons of religious knowledge from both the recent and distant past, as crucial components in a project to preserve the Ibāḍī community and its collective memory through the formation and maintenance of a 'written network.' It argues that the creation of this written network helped new generations of scholars, who compiled and passed on these stories, to connect to each other and to establish links to a much grander intellectual and political past. In drawing these connections across time and space, the

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Networks and Manuscript Libraries." On the responsa of Aflaḥ, more specifically, see: Aillet and Ḥasan, "The Legal Responsa Attributed to Aflaḥ B. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb (208-58/823-72). A Preliminary Study."

[110] This is in many ways the classic argument made "A Cultural Elite: The Role and Status of the *ʿUlamāʾ* in Islamic Society" in R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 187–208. On Maliki ʿulamāʾ as the 'pious opposition' in the Maghrib context see Jamil M Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 56. This was especially the case in Qayrawān, where the *ʿulamāʾ* regularly represented a "pious opposition" to the Aghlabids, the Fatimids, and the Zirids. For the problems between the *ʿulāmāʾ*, the *jund,* and the rulers in Aghlabid Qayrawān, see "Les difficultés du nouveau régime et sa consolidation" in Mohamed Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide, 184-296, 800-909, histoire politique.* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1966), 131–64. For the Fatimid context see Hussain Monès, "Le Malékisme et l'échec des Fatimides en Ifrikiya," in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la memoire de Lévi-Provençal* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962), 197–220..

[111] Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā ibn-Abī-Bakr al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra wa akhbār al-a'imma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ayyūb (Tunis, 1985).

written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra* helped mark the boundaries of the Ibāḍī tradition in Northern Africa and furnish Ibāḍī scholars with a new authority as heirs to the Rustamids and other Ibāḍī leaders before them.

This chapter first outlines the structure of the two parts of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, demonstrating how the work combined the stories of the distant, Rustamid past, with the anecdotes of individual scholars from a later period. It then discusses how and why this work aimed to preserve the collective memory of the community in the face of rapid changes in the religious and political landscapes of the Maghrib in the 10th and 11th centuries. Finally, it visualizes the written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra* as a tool for understanding how this work helped draw the boundaries of the Ibāḍī community and its past, inaugurating a tradition of Ibāḍī prosopography in the Maghrib.

**The *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*: Structure, Themes, and Attributions**

Historians have long regarded the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma* as the work of the 11th century scholar Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārjalānī (d. after 1078CE).[112] In its extant manuscript forms, the *Kitāb al-sīrā* represents a more or less stable textual tradition detailing the history of the Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa up to the 11th century. The vast majority of the extant copies of the work date to the 19th and 20th centuries.[113] The preoccupation of 19th and 20th century French and Arab historians with its 'authenticity,' contents, and attribution to Abū Zakarīyā' has masked its importance as a

[112] Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*; Letourneau, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wargalānī"; Letourneau, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wargalānī (Suite)"; Idris, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wargalānī: Deuxième partie"; Idris, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wargalānī: Deuxième partie (suite)"; al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*.
[113] On the extant manuscript corpus of the *Kitāb al-sīra,* see Chapter 6, "The Ravages of Time."

composite text, likely compiled over several generations by the students of a circle of scholars in the 11th century. While the text may have been attributed to Abū Zakarīyā' perhaps as early as the next century, to treat it as an authored text from the mid-11th century, static and unchanging, ignores a rich tradition of knowledge transmission in medieval Northern Africa and elsewhere in Islamic lands in which texts were altered, shortened, lengthened, edited, or summarized without the slightest indication that any of this was 'inauthentic.'[114] The composite character of the text, compiled over time, represents the ongoing process of tradition building and network construction taking place in the 11th century among Ibāḍī scholars.

If Abū Zakarīyā' ever penned an 'original' text in his own hand, no material evidence for it survives from the 11th century. Even so, this matters little. The continuous transmission of these traditions and their attribution to an individual scholar in subsequent centuries carry far more importance. The cultural infrastructure that allowed for the compilation of these traditions and their attribution to a single author was an intellectual network of scholars in the 11th century. The *Kitāb al-sīra* reflects the formation of this network in two different ways. First, its contents describe circles of scholars connecting with one another through ties established by itinerant individuals who traveled in search of religious knowledge, linguistic training, or commercial enterprise in the late 10th and early 11th centuries.[115] Second, as will be the case with other books in the corpus, the controversies surrounding the extant work's structure and attribution likewise point to multiple lines of

[114] Schoeler, *The genesis of literature in Islam*.

[115] In this respect, Ibāḍī scholars were part of the much larger tradition of the 'journey in search of knowledge' (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*) and a transmission to the importance of the transition travel through writing, on which see Houari Touati, *Islam et voyage au Moyen Age: histoire et anthropologie d'une pratique lettrée* (Paris: Seuil, 2000).

transmission converging. In order to understand the processes involved in the formation and maintenance of that network, the chapter now turns to the content of the printed edition of the text.

The text of the *Kitāb al-sīra* differs from later prosopographies in that the traditions and stories in the second half of the work come from anonymous, presumably contemporary 11th century oral sources. While the other four works under consideration here often drew explicitly from written sources in the past or laid out chains of oral transmission, the bulk of the *Kitāb al-sīra* claims to draw from other, mostly anonymous, Ibāḍī contemporaries of the compiler(s). The two references at the opening of the work to non-Ibāḍī works serve as the exception that confirm this rule.[116] As for the oral Ibāḍī sources cited, many of the traditions in the first half of the *Kitāb al-sīra* come from Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (d. 1079), a teacher and colleague of Abū Zakarīyāʾ al-Warjalānī.[117] When visualized (Figure 4), however, it becomes apparent that the majority of traditions are anonymous. Most bear composite chains of transmission such as "It

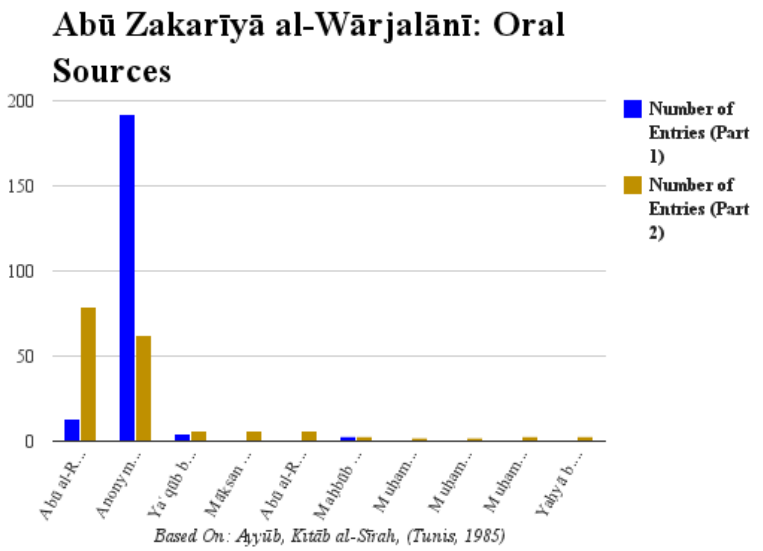


**Figure 4: Breakdown of sources for the *Kitāb al-sīra*. The dominance of the anonymous sources could be easily overlooked when reading the work. When visualized as a whole, however, the importance of anonymous sources is striking.**

[116] These two references are to Ibn Qutayba's *ʿAlām al-nabīʾ* and al-Jāḥiẓ's *al-Waʿẓ wa-l zuhd*, respectively (Al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 44). It is, of course, difficult to know if these first few sections were later additions to the manuscript tradition, especially considering that the work makes almost no other references to non-Ibāḍī written references.
[117] On him see "Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Wislātī al-Mazātī al-Nafṭī al-Qābisī," in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Nāṣir Bābāʿammī, ed., *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), vol. 1, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000).

was related to us by more than one of our companions" (*ḥaddathanā ghayru wāḥidin min aṣḥābinā*). Yet the *Kitāb al-sīra* also represents the beginning of the prosopographical genre of Ibāḍī literature in Northern Africa. The themes and even the very words of this text would remain important components of that genre for centuries.

*Part One: The 'Chronicle'*

The sources for the first half of the work remain hidden to the reader because they hold little importance for the overall goal of the *Kitāb al-sīra*—to justify the need for the biographies and anecdotes that follow it. These first few chapters of the text resemble a chronicle, whereas the later chapters and second part of the work revolve around individual scholars in a kind of extended, anecdote-driven, biographical form. The text begins with an introduction, attributed to Abū Zakarīyā', which notes that the work aims at the preservation of the memory of the community for posterity. The first chapter then explains briefly the arrival of Ibāḍism in the Maghrib.[118] The second chapter addresses the importance of the Persians (*al-furs*) in the history of Islam, noting their merits as a 'people.'[119] This section sets the narrative up for the rise of the Rustamid dynasty, whose leaders claimed Persian descent. The third chapter mirrors the second, with the Berbers now replacing the Persians.[120] Likewise, this chapter discusses the merits of the Berbers (*al-barbar*), who made up the vast majority of leaders, scholars, and other members of the Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib. Far from unique in Northern African literature, this chapter carries the the theme of "the merits of the

[118] Al-Wārjalānī, 41-43.
[119] Ibid, 44-51.
[120] Ibid, 52-56.

Berbers" (*faḍā'il al-barbar* or *mafākhir al-barbar*) that had precedent in an earlier Ibāḍī work and became a time-honored tradition in Maghribi literature more broadly in later centuries.[121]

Following these two sections, the first part of the *Kitāb al-sīra* established the basic historical narrative framework reproduced in the major works of Ibāḍī prosopography and history that came after it:

(1) The individuals who 'carried' (*ḥamala*) Ibāḍism to in the Maghrib in the early 8th century
(2) Early efforts at establishing an Imamate (and the failure of those efforts)
(3) The flight of the Ibāḍī communities westward
(4) The legendary founding of the city of Tāhart in the 8th century
(5) The establishment of the Rustamid Imamate
(6) Succession of leadership, expansion, and internal conflicts within the Ibāḍī community
(7) The fall of the Rustamids to the Fatimids in the 10th century
(8) Efforts to reestablish Ibāḍī control in the Maghrib (and the failure of those efforts)
(9) The establishment of the *'azzāba* system in the mid-11th century

Modern historians have reproduced this historical narrative and timeline almost verbatim, debating the details rather than considering the utility and purpose of its structure. Specifics aside, the structure of this part of the text clarifies the purpose of this first major work of Ibāḍī prosopography. If the second part of the *Kitāb al-sīra* aims to construct a network of connections between different scholars over time and space, this first part seeks a justification for the political and religious climate of the 11th century out of which that network emerged. The actual components of the story share *topoi* and themes with other foundation narratives in Islamic history, both in the Maghrib and beyond: a just movement fighting against a pseudo-Islamic ruler, the legendary founding of a community by a

[121] A similar chapter appeared in the earlier 8th century work of Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Kitāb fihi bid' al-islām wa-sharā'i' ad-dīn*.; See also discussion of '*mafākhir al-barbar'* in Maya Shatzmiller, *The Berbers and the Islamic State: The Marīnid Experience in Pre-Protectorate Morocco* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999). More specifically on the image and use of Berbers in the prosopographical tradition (drawing from Ibn Sallām, Abū Zakarīyā', and al-Darjīnī), see: Boutheina Ben Hassine, "L'image des berbères dans les sources ibadites," in *Géographie historique du Maghreb antique et médiéval : état des lieux et perspectives de recherches*, ed. Abdellatif Mrabit (Enfidha: IRIS, 2015), 289–98.

single individual of foreign origins, that leader's success and saintly example, and the establishment of a set of rules and regulations to govern the community by another, later individual.[122]

In other words, the structural elements of the first part of the *Kitāb al-sīra* represent constructions designed to lead the reader along a certain teleological path; namely, the necessity of the establishment of the *ʿazzāba* and the importance of scholars and pious individuals as leaders of the Ibāḍī community. This structure lays the foundation upon which the subsequent written network of scholars and pious individuals rests and provides justification for its very existence.

*Part Two: The Network of Scholars*

While the contemporaries of the compiler—the oral sources of the traditions of the *Kitāb al-sīra*—often remained anonymous, their predecessors were of utmost importance. Anecdotes about the generation of scholars active in the late 10th and early 11th centuries make up the bulk of the second part of the text. The biographical sketches that follow the more grandiose historical narrative of the rise and fall of the Rustamids along with Ibāḍī efforts at revolt against the Fatimids set the stage for the early formation of a more localized, council-rule system that governed Ibāḍī communities: the *ʿazzāba*. The *Kitāb al-sīra* conveniently locates that transition from the rule of the Imam to that of the *ʿazzaba* in a single person: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, an Ibāḍī scholar of the 11th century. The *Kitāb al-sīra* situates Abū ʿAbdallāh at the center of a network of scholars both past and present. From

[122] On topoi and themes in early Islamic history see Albrecht Noth and Lawrence I Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994). See also: Karim Samji, "Narrating Early Islamic History." (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2014).More specific to the topoi and Ibāḍīs in North Africa, see Aillet, "Tāhart et les origines de l'imamat rustumide." ; Cf. Prevost, "Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustum al-Fārisī. Une tentative de biographie du premier imam de Tāhart," *Der Islam*, 86 (2011), 44-64.

here, the chapter moves on to considering the construction of that written network in the text as well as the impetus and purpose for its creation.

**Networks and Narrative**

As suggested in the introduction, the utility of network theory for understanding Ibāḍī intellectual communities in the medieval centuries lies in its ability to provide a framework for understanding what otherwise appears to be a string of biographies and anecdotes of scholars. One of the principal concepts of network theory, hubs in a 'small-world' network in which the average distance between two individuals is surprisingly small,[123] helps frame what is happening in the second section of the *Kitāb al-sīra* in terms of the formation and maintenance of connections between individuals and communities. Those individuals who played a central role in the training of a later generation of scholars make up the hubs of the late 10th and early 11th centuries. In the text, these scholars have many more connections than the average and most other individuals in the network link to each other through them. While these hubs concentrated in a specific set of geographical settings (Wārjalān, the Jarīd, Jabal Dummar, Jarba, the Jabal Nafūsa), many key actors were constantly on the move. This helped the network to survive despite several direct attacks upon and challenges to the community's organization—a constant theme of Ibāḍī prosopographical literature from the 11th century forward.

The interactions of the itinerant students and teachers provided the edges between different geographic hubs of intellectual activity in the region. A student, for example, who studied with one scholar in Jarba, later moved to the Jabal Nafūsa and finally settled in the Jarīd or Wārjalān provided a

[123] The small-world network was a concept originally developed by S. Milgram in the 1960s. See Travers and Milgram, "An Experimental Study of the Small World Problem."

link between the traditions passed on to him by his teachers in each location and furnished his own students with traditions from these different communities. The regular travel of scholars and their students in the 10th and 11th centuries accounts for the formation of intellectual networks and for the maintenance of those networks by future generations.

This will remain a crucial point throughout the remainder of this study: the formation of this written network (and the knowledge, authority, and memory that moved through it) constitutes only one piece of the history of these prosopographies. Of equal importance in the long term was the maintenance and expansion of this network over time. Later chapters will demonstrate that subsequent works of prosopography also served as important agents for both the ongoing construction and maintenance of the network.

The prosopographical subjects of the second part of the text constitute a network of edges among scholars with the generation of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr at its core. The figure of Abū ʿAbdallāh holds a place of great importance in both the *Kitāb al-sīra* and subsequent Ibāḍī prosopographies, all of which designate him as the founder of the *ḥalqa* system of the *ʿazzāba*, an informal (and later quite formalized) institution of students who study under one or multiple teachers, learning about the history of the Ibāḍī community alongside the religious sciences of the Qur'an, exegesis (*tafsīr*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and theology (*kalām*). Abū ʿAbdallāh's centrality in this web of connections derives from his links with both the previous well-known generation of scholars, especially those of Jarba where he studied, and that generation of students of the Mzab (Banū Maṣʿab or Banū Muṣʿab) valley (including the environs of Wārjalān), the Jarīd, and Jabal Dummar where he traveled and taught. In placing Abū ʿAbdallāh at the center of the intellectual network and attributing

the foundation of the formal *ḥalqa* system to him, the *Kitāb al-sīra* presents the 11th century as an important period of transition from the Rustamids to the council-rule system that developed out of the *ḥalqa*, the *ʿazzāba*. In later Ibāḍī literature, the details of how Abū ʿAbdallāh operated these *ḥalqa*s would be expanded and formalized.[124] In the *Kitāb al-sīra*, however, his activities simply mark a transition.

The *Kitāb al-sīra* describes Abū ʿAbdallāh as having studied under the shaykhs of Jarba, an island where Ibāḍism had found a home early on in the Rustamid period. This connection carries great importance since through it Abū ʿAbdallāh becomes central to the past, present, and future Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib in the *Kitāb al-Sīra.* His teacher, Abū Zakarīyāʾ Faṣīl b. Abī Miswar al-Yahrasānī, was the son of one of the key figures of the 10th century in Ibāḍī literature.[125] Abū Miswar Yasjā traditionally received credit for the founding of *al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr* (the 'Great Mosque') in Jarba and the training of a number of scholars there during what Virginie Prévost has called the 'Ibāḍī renaissance' of the 10th century in the aftermath of the fall of the Rustamids.[126] The text's juxtaposition of failed attempts to restore the political power of the Ibāḍīs under the Fatimids and the life of Abū Miswar in Jarba links the two periods, marking the inevitable transition from the era of Tāhart to the later period in which different, local sites like Jarba became centers of Ibāḍī learning.

Born in the Jabal Nafūsa in northwestern Libya, Abū Miswar's arrival in Jarba at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century provided a concrete link in the historical narrative between these two older communities of Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa. Numerous scholars and students like him

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[124] See Chapter 3 "Formalizing the Network: Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*."
[125] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Nāṣir Bābāʿammī, ed., *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000), 339.
[126] Virginie Prévost, "La renaissance des ibadites wahbites à Djerba au Xe siècle," *Folia Orientalia XL*, 2004, 171–91.

traversed the paths connecting Jarba and the Jabal Nafūsa, creating a regular line of intellectual exchange between the two communities. His son Faṣīl in turn appears in the text as the initiator of the link between the island and the central lands of Northern Africa. Faṣīl sent his two sons and nephew to the mainland in search of his prize pupil, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, whom they were to convince to found a series of *ḥalqa*s for the education of Ibāḍīs in the Jarīd. Eventually, Abū ʿAbdallāh agreed and from him the *Kitāb al-sīra* describes the fanning out of religious traditions among his students as he travelled from place to place establishing *ḥalqa*s and creating new centers of Ibāḍī learning.[127]

Crucial to later Ibāḍī narratives, the text presents Abū ʿAbdallāh as the champion of Ibāḍī Islam in the Mzab region, where he succeeds in converting its 'Muʿtazilī' inhabitants to Ibāḍism.[128] By the time of the compilation of the *Kitāb al-sīra,* the nearby settlements of Wārjalān and Sadrāta had become centers for Ibāḍī learning and Abū ʿAbdallāh's story provided the historical explanation of its establishment in the broader region. These two locations had already been home to Ibāḍī communities following the fall of the Rustamids, when Sadrāta like Jarba had become home to refugees from Tāhart.[129] Abū ʿAbdallāh and a generation of his students linked the two different

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[127] "Akhbār al-shaykh Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad bin Bakr," *Kitāb al-sīra,* 252-268; for summaries of this traditional narrative see Cherifi, "La Ḥalqa des ʿazzāba: un nouveau regard sur l'histoire d'une institution religieuse ibāḍite"; Prévost, "Genèse et développement de la ḥalqa chez les ibāḍites maghrébins."

[128] The text refers to them as "wāṣiliyya," *Kitāb al-sīra*, 55; cf. Mohamed Talbi, "La conversion des Berbères au ḫariğisme ibaḍito-ṣufrite et la nouvelle carte politique du Maghreb au iie/viiie siècle," in *Études d'histoire ifriqienne et de civilisation musulmane médiévale* (Tunis, 1982), 13–80. Alloua Amara has recently presented an outline of the broader process of 'Malikisation' in the Maghrib, as well as addressing more specifically the Ibāḍī communities in the northern region of the Zāb (distinct from the Mzab, or *Maṣʿab* region to the south). On the Zāb see: Amara, "Entre le massif de l'Aurès et les oasis : apparition, évolution et disparition des communautés ibâḍites du Zâb (VIIIe-XIVe siècle)." On the Maghrib, see: Amara, "La malikisation du Maghreb central (III/VIe-IX/XIIe siècle)."

[129] Aillet and Gilotte, "Sedrata: l'élaboration d'un lieu de mémoire"; Virginie Prévost, "Une tentative d'histoire de la ville ibadite de Sadrāta," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 38, no. 2 (2008): 129–47.

communities of former refugees, Jarba and the Mzab, with the long-standing strongholds of Ibāḍism in the Maghrib, the Jarīd and the Jabal Nafūsa.

As Abū Miswar had linked together the communities of Jabal Nafūsa, Jarba and the refugees from Tāhart, so too his son Faṣīl and Abū ʿAbdallāh provided the connections between Jarba and the mainland farther east in the Jarīd and north to the Zāb region. In this way, the *Kitāb al-sīra* describes the formation of a network of individuals over two generations that brought together what would more or less remain the principal "islands" of the "Ibāḍī archipelago"[130] of Northern Africa. This network was primarily one of individuals who either met in person or knew of the other nodes in the network through personal connections. In addition, however, these individuals provided conceptual and historical links between a fragmented present and an imagined, unified Rustamid past.

But the formation of this network of individuals would have meant nothing had it disappeared with the death of Abū ʿAbdallāh, Faṣīl, and their contemporaries in the 10th and 11th centuries. In order for this network to persist, it had to grow. This meant training a new generation of scholars who could transmit knowledge through personal interactions and devising a new method of preserving and transmitting it: the production of written, prosopographical works. New generations of Ibāḍī scholars sought out those teachers who, by virtue of their own connections with an older generation, possessed the greatest amount of religious knowledge—a process described by network analysts as 'preferential attachment.'[131]

[130] I borrow this term from Aillet, "L'ibâḍisme, une minorité au cœur de l'islam."
[131] For practical examples of this process in network analysis see "The Rich Get Richer" in Barabási and Bonabeau, "Scale-Free Networks."

This transition from oral transmission of knowledge and personal interaction to one in which these traditional forms of connections come to include "written" interactions carries tremendous importance for the formation of Ibāḍī networks in the Maghrib. While a student's journey to study under well-known scholars still carried much value, the *Kitāb al-sīra* marks the beginning of a move toward connecting with a scholar through his writings.[132] Many subsequent themes of Ibāḍī prosopographical literature stemmed from this early transition, especially the growing importance of manuscript book culture in the following century.[133] The two principal and interrelated reasons for this transition appear in the *Kitāb al-sīra* itself. First, the Imams and scholars of the past represent the pinnacles of learning. With those individuals now gone, the only way to connect to them is through their students or through their writings. Second, the compiler frames the work with reference to the imagined and, at times, real threat of disappearance and the annihilation of the memory of the community's past altogether.

### *The Threat of Extinction: Context and Purpose in the Kitāb al-sīra*

The increased production of written prosopographical works and history by the Ibāḍī community—as opposed to transmission of that history via exclusively oral methods and personal interactions among individuals—resulted in part from the changing landscape of medieval Northern Africa. The *Kitāb al-sīra* presents the movement of peoples and ideas as relatively free and uninhibited in the Rustamid period. The expansion of Aghlabid power south into Tunisia followed by the rise of the Fatimids, the

[132] In some ways, this process reflects the move in the 12th century toward traveling through books, described in Touati, *Islam et voyage au Moyen Age*.
[133] On the growing importance of manuscript books in the 11th and 12th centuries, see "Chapter 2: The Definition and Maintenance of the Network."

conquest of Tāhart, failed attempts at revolt, and the succession of the Zirids all meant that the movement of people often became dangerous in the late 10th and 11th centuries. The beginnings of Ibāḍī prosopography marked by the *Kitāb al-sīra* also coincided with the regional transition from parchment to paper in the 11th century Maghrib, although the former was still produced in the region well into the 15th century.[134] While people still moved around and oral transmission remained an important vehicle for the movement and preservation of communal memory, manuscript books came to provide another form of connections between Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib.

Thematically, Abū ʿAbdallāh and his contemporaries represent this preoccupation of the *Kitāb al-Sīra* with preserving the community's past in written form. Indeed, the work presents this as one the principal motivations for the formation of this written network in the first place: the threat of the disappearance of the Ibāḍī community and the disintegration of its communal memory in the face of marked changes in the political, demographic, and religious landscapes of Northern Africa during the 11th century. The text begins by noting that it seeks the preservation of memory of the community, which risks disappearing:

> فإنّه لما رأينا ما انطمس من الآثار وما اندرس من الأخبار انبعثت أفكارنا إلى تأليف أخبار من سلف من مشائخ أهل الدعوة وصُلحائها وتَذكُّرِ مناقبهم وحُسن سِيَرهم وجميل مذهبهم ونشرِ فضائلهم فكتبنا من ذلك ما تيسّرت كتابته ورجونا منفعته من بعد ما خشينا على العوام أن يتّخذوه وراءهم ظَهْريا ويجعلوه نسياً منسياً...

> When we saw what had disappeared from the traditions and what had been lost from the accounts, it occurred to us to write the accounts of those who came before from among the shaykhs, the people of this community and their exemplars; a recollection of their merits, the excellence of their biographies, the beauty of their religious community (*madhhab*), and the spread of their virtues. So we wrote of those things what was possible for us to write, desiring its benefit after having feared for the general populace that they might leave [these stories] behind them, causing them to be forgotten.[135]

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[134] See "The Maghrib (North Africa and Spain)," in Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 85–89, esp. 85.

[135] al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 39–40.

Considering the dramatic transformations taking place in the Maghrib in the mid to late 11th century, the Ibāḍī compilers of these traditions had good reason to worry about the disappearance of their communities. The 11th century witnessed the beginning of a long-term demographic change in the form of slow but steady westward migrations of nomadic tribes from the east along the northern edge of the Sahara. Modern historians often regarded this demographic transformation as a sudden, devastating 'swarm of locusts'—the Banū Hilāl—unleashed by the disgruntled Fatimids in Cairo against their former Zirid clients.[136] As Michael Brett has demonstrated, however, this cataclysmic legend had much more to do with gradual changes in demography, the economy of Northern Africa, and historiography than sudden, violent invasion.[137] Nevertheless, a slow migration of Arabic speakers into the southern regions of the Maghrib had long-term effects on the linguistic, political, economic and religious landscapes of the region. In later centuries, these new Arab tribes would vie with the Almoravids' supporters (and, among others, their Almohad and Hafsid successors) for control over the central and eastern Maghrib.[138]

Often forgotten by modern historians, the Ibāḍī communities of the rural Maghrib lay between these incoming nomads and the great dynasties of the cities of the Maghribi littoral they

[136] E.g., "La Catasrophe: L'invasion hilālienne et la fin du règne d'al-Muʿizz" in Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, 256–59; Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*, 69–71.; Faroqui, S., "Demography and Migration," in Irwin, R., ed., *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Vol. 4* (2010), 311.; Notable exceptions to this long standing historiographical trend were: Jean Poncet, "Le mythe de la catastrophe hilalienne," *Annales ESC* 22 (1967): 1099–1120; John E. Wansbrough, "The Decolonization of North African History," *Journal of African History* 9, no. 4 (1968): 645–47.

[137] Michael Brett, "Fatimid Historiography: A Case Study –the Quarrel with the Zirids, 1048-58" *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds,* Morgan, D.O., ed., (1982), 47-59; "The Flood of the Dam and the Sons of the New Moon," *Mélanges offerts à Mohamed Talbi* (1993), 55-67 ; "The Way of the Nomad," *BSOAS,* 58, (1995), 251-69; "The Mīm the ʿAyn and the Making of Ismāʿīlism," *BSOAS*, 57, 1994), 25-39; "The Realm of the Imam: the Fatimids in the Tenth Century," *BSOAS,* 59, (1996), 431-449; These and other articles relating to the Banū Hilāl were republished in his *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*, (1999).

[138] See discussions in Chapters 2 and 3 below.

would help destabilize in the future. Indeed, modern historians merely followed their medieval predecessors' lead. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, Ibāḍīs rarely appear in histories of the dynasties of the Maghribi rulers or more localized histories of cities. The *Kitāb al-sīra* not only provides an alternative, local version of events but itself emerges out of that context.

Conflicts, skirmishes, and negotiations with Arabic-speaking and Berber nomads appear in anecdotes throughout the *Kitāb al-sīra.* These episodes helped reinforce the image of chaos and instability in the region, which in turn justify the compilation of the work in the first place. For example, at the end of a journey moving among different Ibāḍī communities in Ifrīqiyā, "Arabs" attack Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī and his students.[139] In another passage, a group of unnamed nomads on horses surround and threaten a man returning to Ifrīqiyā from the Jabal Nafūsa.[140] The fortress town of Darjīn in the Jarīd also serves as the setting for a dispute between an Arab and Berber tribe over the construction of a mosque.[141]

The contrast of Ibāḍīs and Arabs in the *Kitāb al-sīra* likewise highlights an important demographic characteristic of Ibāḍī communities in the 10th and 11th centuries. While the *Kitāb al-sīra* is itself a work of Arabic literature, numerous indications throughout the text reveal that on the level of both everyday interaction and scholarly debate, Ibāḍīs would not have been Arabic-speakers. Instead, both the laity and the scholarly elite would have spoken varieties of Berber.[142] The *Kitāb al-*

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[139] al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 228.
[140] Ibid., 276.
[141] Ibid., 308.
[142] Wilkinson notes that the Ibāḍī scholars in the Maghrib during Middle Period would have wielded considerable influence as a result of their knowledge of Arabic. See Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*, 426. This likewise raises the issue of how different Ibāḍī communities would have communicated. An interesting suggestion is the theory of an Ibāḍī lingua franca, similar to the argument made for the early modern period in Vermondo Brugnatelli, "D'une langue de contact entre berbères ibadites," in *Berber in Contact: Linguistic and Socio-Lingusitic Perspectives*, 2008,

*sīra* contains several words and phrases in Berber, transcribed in Arabic characters. For example, in a letter to the Ibāḍī community of Jabal Nafūsa, Rustamid Imam ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam uses the phrase "by God" in Arabic (*billāh*) and "in Berber" (*bi-l-barbariyya*): "*abīkīsh*."[143] In addition to the Berber toponyms of the villages of the Maghrib that serve as the settings of the work, the *Kitāb al-sīra* also gives examples of the Berber practice of organizing years according to their names, which are given in Berber.[144] Especially given the prominence of written Berber to the prosopographical tradition in the following century,[145] these passages suggest that the compilers and the potential students using the *Kitāb al-sīra* would have spoken varieties of Berber rather than Arabic.

In addition to demographic changes in the south, the *Kitāb al-sīra* also mentions the ongoing threat to Ibāḍī communities from the dynastic power of northern Ifrīqiyā, the Zirids as well as the Zanāta tribes of Tripolitania. In addition to earlier trouble with the Zirid *amīr*s in the 10th century, who were responsible for crushing the second major Ibāḍī revolt against the Fatimids, the *Kitāb al-sīra* references the ongoing stability in the region at the beginning of the 11th century. For example, while discussing the foundation of *ḥalqas* throughout the region, the work makes references to the clashes between the Zirids and the Zanāta tribesmen of Tripolitania:

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39–52. That Ibāḍīs would not have been Arabic-speakers also lends itself to a sub-nationalist Berber reading of Ibāḍī history like that presented by Chibani, *Tārīkh* [*al-*]*Ibāḍiyya* [*al-*]*tamāzigha* (*The History of Tamazgha Ibadis*).

[143] *Kitāb al-sīra,* 124.; Cf. discussion in Tadeusz Lewicki, "Mélanges berbères-ibadites," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 3 (1936): 267–85.

[144] E.g., Al-Wārjalānī,, 305; 330

[145] On the use of and references to Berber in the prosopographical tradition, see Chapter 2 "The Definition and Maintenance of the Network."

وكان ذلك في السّنة التي تحرّكت فيها زناتة مع صنهاجة في ناحية طرابلس وهي التي تسمّى هزيمة الأبراج فكثرت الزلازل في الأرض حتى لا يستقيم لهم شيء

> That was in the year that the Zanāta moved against the Ṣanhāja [the Zirids] in the environs of Tripolitania and it was called the "hazīmat al-abrāj". The disruptions [lit. the 'earthquakes'] were so many that nothing remained calm and constant for them.[146]

Another passage echoes the instability of the region when it refers to the precarious position of the village of Tamūlst (in the Jabal Dummar region), since it lay on the path between Ifrīqiyā and Tripolitania.[147] Another passage from an unnamed location in Ifrīqiyā describes two instances in which a scholar named Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm encounters some of the officials of 'the Sultan' (*aʿwān al-sulṭān*) harassing a woman in the street. When he intervenes, the officials bring him before 'the sulṭān' himself (probably a reference to a Zirid *amīr*).[148] Farther to the west, the *Kitāb al-sīra* describes an attack on the fortress of Darjīn (*qalʿat darjīn*) in the Jarīd by the Ṣanhāja,[149] which force its inhabitants to flee west. The *Kitāb al-sīra* places Ibāḍī communities as caught between nomadic tribes from the southeast, their northern neighbors, the Zirids, as well as the Zanāta in Tripolitania.

This picture of the eastern Maghrib largely conforms to Brett's description of a region disrupted by nomadic migration and in the process of economic and demographic transformation. Likewise, these ongoing changes did not mean people stopped trading or traveling. In the face of these threats, and in some ways despite them, the *Kitāb al-sīra* describes two generations of Ibāḍī scholars traveling regularly from Wārjalān, the Jarīd, and the mountains of southern Ifrīqiyā

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[146] al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 254; Cf. Michael Brett, "The Central Lands of North Africa and Sicily, until the Beginning of the Almohad Period," in *New Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 50–51.
[147] al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 228.
[148] Ibid., 338–39.
[149] Ibid., 305.

(Jabal Dummar) and northwestern Tripolitania (Ṭrāblus). Indeed, the interactions of these scholars seem especially crucial to the survival of the community in this period. In turn, these threats prove the need to record their connections for posterity.

**The Network and Its Structure**

Until now, this chapter has used the term 'network' in a broad and metaphorical sense. But the *Kitāb al-sīra* represents more than just the context from which it emerged in the 11th century. It also *produced* that context for use by future generations. In juxtaposing the grand historical narrative of the distant Rustamid past and the anecdotes of interaction among different scholars from the more recent past, the *Kitāb al-sīra* links these two together. The connections it draws between different scholars and geographic locations constructed a network that can also be visualized and analyzed.

While the first part of the *Kitāb al-sīra* amounts to a chronicle-style, collective history of the Ibāḍī community, the second part comprises the lives and stories of individual members of the community. In most cases, specific individuals link to others through their physical interaction with one another in the text. The juxtaposition of individuals in the text represents the goal of establishing connections regardless of their type. That is, the *Kitāb al-sīra* connects people in a variety of different ways in an effort to demonstrate the overall, interrelated structure of the community. This structure amounts to the **written network** of Ibāḍī scholars drawn by the *Kitāb al-sīra*.


Figure 5: The Written Network of the Kitāb al-sīra (Pt.1). The principal nodes in the image are numbered: (1) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr; (2) ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum; (3) Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl; (4) Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī; (5) Abū Zakarīyāʾ Faṣīl b. Abī Miswar

The first graph (Figure 5) represents a visualization of the interactions among Ibāḍī scholars described in the first half of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and as such represents in visual form the network constructed by that part of the text. In the graphs, the larger the name of an individual, the greater is his number of links with other individuals in the text. This number of connections, called the **degree** in network analysis, assigns a numeric value to the relative importance of a node in a network. Some elements of this graph appear obvious after a careful reading of the printed text. For example, that Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr (no.1) carries the highest degree of any node in the network comes as no surprise. The text situates him at the center because it associates him with the very foundation of the network. Likewise, the prominence of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum (no.2), the second Rustamid Imām and the central character in the history of the Rustamids, is also expected. Finally, Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl, the leader of the failed Ibāḍī revolt against the Fatimids, plays a central role in the text's description of the Fatimid period. On the other hand, the graph raises

questions about the other two nodes with relatively high degrees: Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (no.4) and Abū Zakarīyāʾ Faṣīl b. Abī Miswar (no. 5).

These two figures are not only well-known scholars of the Ibāḍī community of the 11th century, they also play an important role in the *Kitāb al-sīra* in that they establish connections with both the previous and subsequent generations. Abū Zakarīyāʾ Faṣīl (no.5) served both as the impetus for the establishment of the *ʿazzāba* and the principal teacher of Abū ʿAbdallāh. His regular appearance and connection to other scholars in the text demonstrates Abū ʿAbdallāh's links to the generations before him, especially the well-known scholarly family of Abū Miswar al-Yahrāsanī in Jarba. Similarly, Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (no.4) connected Abū ʿAbdallāh's to future generations. Indeed, the compiler of the *Kitāb al-sīra* (usually understood to be Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr) takes many of his traditions from Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf.

The second part of the text, which takes up the lives of scholars in the generation following the Rustumids, portrays a much different scholarly landscape (Figure 6). Although Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr remains a key figure, his contemporaries (no.2-4) also play central roles. While Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad spent most of his life in southern Ifrīqiyā, the other individuals in turn represent the fanning out of the network into a different geographic location: the island of Jarba. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Mānūj (no.2), Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Nafūsī (no.3), and Abū ʿImrān Mūsā al-Mazātī (no.4) were all scholars who spent significant time in Jarba. Their central role in the network also derives from their belonging to a group known as the "*ahl al-ghār* (the people of the cave)" or "*ahl amjāj* (the people of [a cave called] *amjāj*)." Ibāḍī prosopographies after the *Kitāb al-sīra* claimed that

this group composed a multi-volume compendium of Ibāḍī *fiqh*.[150] While the *Kitāb al-sīra* refers to them as the "*ahl al-ghār*",[151] it makes no mention of the compendium. Nevertheless, their high degrees point not only to their own prominence in the network but also to the geographic importance of Jarba by the 11th century.

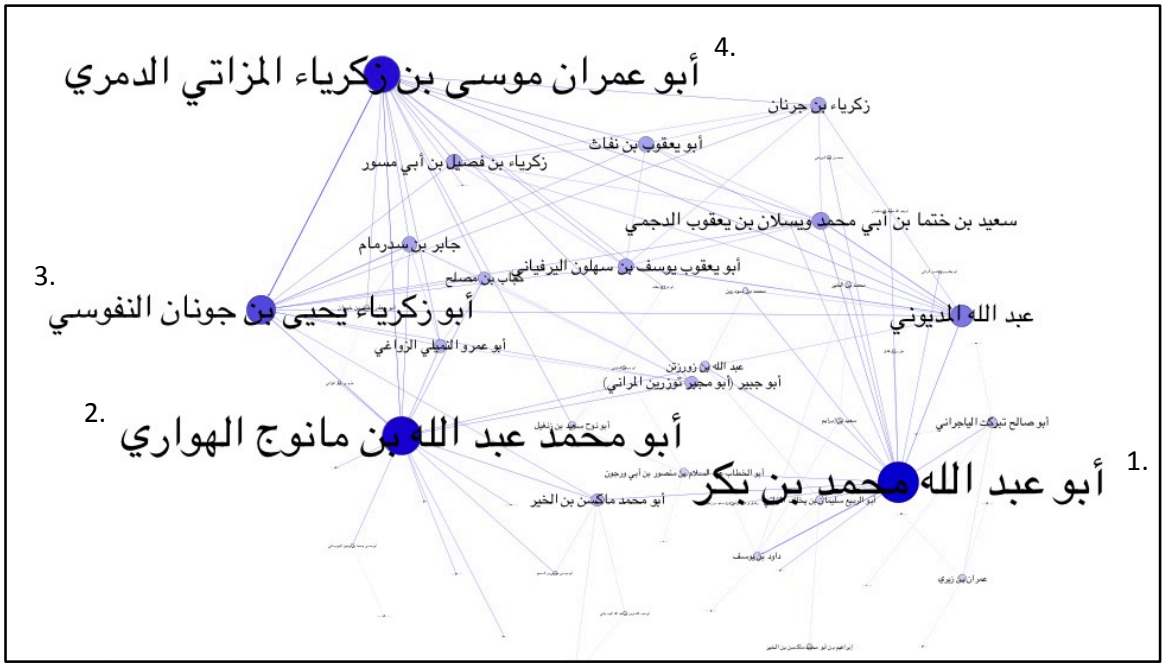


**Figure 6: The written network of the Kitāb al-sīra (Pt.2): (1) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr; (2) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Mānūj al-Hawwārī; (3) Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā b. Jūnān al-Nafūsī; (4) Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Zakarīyā' al-Mazātī al-Dummarī**

[150] The manuscript tradition of this compendium is confused with another compendium, both of which are often referred to as the *Dīwān al-mashāyikh*. On the confusion see "Anonymous: *Dīwān al-Ashyākh*" and "Anonymous: *Dīwān al-ʿAzzāba*" in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:44–49.

[151] Kitāb al-sīra, 284. Cf. discussion in Virginie Prévost, "Maǧmāǧ et les sept savants: la création du Dīwān al-ʿazzāba," *Acta Orientalia* 73 (2012): 35–58.

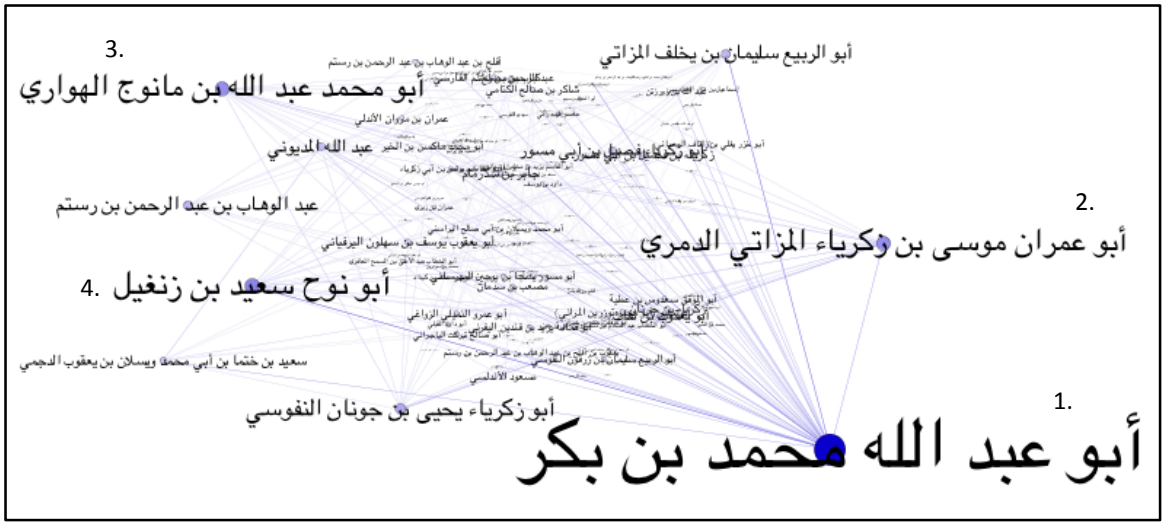


**Figure 7: The combined written network of the Kitāb al-sīra (Pt. 1 and 2): (1) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr; (2) Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Zakarīyāʾ al-Mazātī al-Dummarī; (3) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Mānūj al-Hawwārī; (3) Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl**

When the two graphs are combined (Figure 7), together they represent the entire written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra.* In addition to helping reflect the centrality of different figures and geographies in the 10th and early 11th centuries, these graphs of the written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra* also reveal immediately something that even careful reading of the text might not: the presence of **hubs** in the network. Hubs refer to "vertices [nodes] with an unusually high number of edges."[152] In networks of relationships between people, this means that some vertices in the network have edges connecting them to a lot more people than the average.

| ***Kitāb al-sīra* (*Parts 1and2*): Network Summary** | |
|---|---|
| **Total Number of Nodes** | 147 |
| **Total Number of Edges** | 254 |
| **Degree Range** | 1-38 |
| **Average Degree** | 1.692 |
| **Average Path Length** | 4.55 |
| **Network Diameter** | 11 |

Table 1: Network summary of the Kitāb al-sīra (Pt. 1 and 2)

[152] Newman, *Networks*, 9.

Given an average degree of 1.692 (Table 1), that Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr has a degree of 38 makes his importance to the network much clearer. He alone links many of the nodes in the network (Figure 8). Certain individuals like him in the *Kitāb al-sīra* serve the purpose of connecting multiple, otherwise unconnected communities and individuals. For this reason, network analysts sometimes call hubs "connectors." These hubs connect large numbers of vertices by linking several individuals with each other. In turn, individuals with the highest connectivity also link to one another and without them many of the existing connections would disappear. Through these hubs, the written network of Ibāḍī scholars of the *Kitāb al-sīra* connects almost every scholar to at least one other individual. In this sense, the network depicted here is nearly 'complete.' Even in the event that there were several **isolates** (i.e., nodes with no connections) as will be the case in later works, their presence within the text connects them to the other scholars in the network.

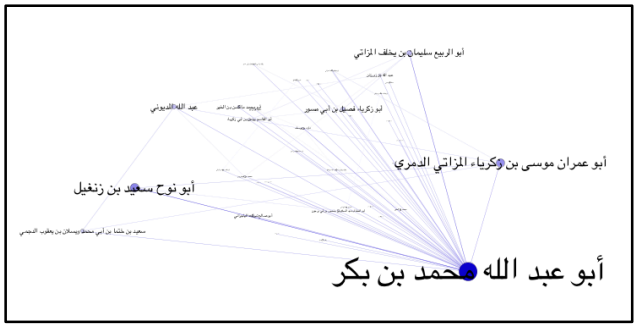


**Figure 8: : The "Ego-Network" of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr**

**Conclusion**

The late 10th and early 11th century context out of which this first work of Ibāḍī prosopography emerged along with the graphs above help clarify the formation and function of the written network constructed in the *Kitāb al-sīra*. The opening passage of the *Kitāb al-sīra* announces to its audience that the work aims to preserve the memory of the community in the face of extinction. Approaching this work in the traditional way, with attention to detail and an eye for extraction of historical

narratives, the *Kitāb al-sīra* seems to preserve memory in fragments that mirror the fracturing of the Ibāḍī communities of the post-Rustamid period. These various fragments, however, ultimately combine to form a collective biography of the community, a prosopography, that at once created and defined the limits of the Ibāḍī tradition in Northern Africa.

Approaching the *Kitāb al-sīra* as a prosopography that forms a written network reveals how it achieved this. This approach helps clarify the work's historical context as well as why this narrative structure proved so enduring in later centuries and why the *Kitāb al-sīra* served as the basis for those prosopographies that came after it. As for what the *Kitāb al-sīra* reveals about the late-10th-and-early 11th-century context, the work reflects communities of Ibāḍī scholars separated in space but linked through connections between their hubs. It also suggests that by this time the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib had more or less settled into geographic pockets, the islands of the Ibāḍī archipelago, that would themselves remain spatial hubs of intellectual activity and exchange for centuries.

The narrative structure of the first half of the work (extolling the merits of the Persians, the Berbers, the early community, the Rustamids, and their downfall) sets the scene for a new phase of Ibāḍī history in which the scholars and the connections between them become the glue holding the community together. As shown in the graphs above, a handful of important scholars tied almost all other figures in the network together, linking the Rustamid past with a new stage in which individual scholars would lead the community. This resulted in the definition of the limits of the community and its leadership in both the past and the present. That is, the *Kitāb al-sīra* helped outline the contours of the an Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib. No longer would the early Imams of Baṣra or the Rustamid Imams of Tāhart need to guide the community and bring it together, although they would remain

potent figures of the past and sources of legitimacy for scholars in future generations. Instead, the *Kitāb al-sīra* proclaims—indeed, *creates*—the dawn of the era of the *ḥalqa* and the council-rule system of the *ʿazzāba,* setting the stage for the formalization of that system and laying the foundation for a tradition of prosopographical literature that would continue to maintain and expand the written network it began.

# Chapter 2:
# The Definition and Maintenance of the Network

The *Siyar al-Wisyānī* and the Ibāḍī Communities of the late 11th and early 12th centuries

**Introduction**

This chapter turns to a new stage of Ibāḍī history and prosopography in the Maghrib corresponding not to a specific time, place, or written work but instead to a process. This process included not only an augmentation of the tradition of prosopography begun by the *Kitāb al-sīra*, but also the maintenance of the Ibāḍī written network in the Maghrib. This continued construction and maintenance took two important forms in the later 11th and early 12th centuries. The first was a move toward privileging the book and writing as tools for the preservation of the Ibāḍī past, as well as for establishing and maintaining connections among scholars. The second was a clarification of the boundaries of that community through an increasingly precise description of both the structure of the Ibāḍī community and of the distinction between them and their non-Ibāḍī contemporaries.

If the *Kitāb al-sīra* represented the construction of the written network of Ibāḍī scholars in the 10th and 11th centuries, the composite work known as the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* reflects the changes both to the written network and the Ibāḍī community in the later 11th and 12th. As in the case of the *Kitāb al-sīra,* controversy surrounds the composition and authorship of this work. Indeed, what historians sometimes regard as the second part of the *Kitāb al-sīra* appears as the third part of the *Siyar al-*

*Wisyānī* in its most recent printed edition.[153] The efforts of philologists to unlock the riddle of the transmission, authorship, and composition of these texts deserve admiration. Here, however, a focus on the aim of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* and the approach of network analysis together offer a way of bypassing these debates. As was the case with the *Kitāb al-sīra*, this chapter focuses on understanding what this work accomplishes, rather than who composed it and when.

This chapter demonstrates the ways in which the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* represents both a continuation and an augmentation of the work begun by its prosopographical predecessor, the *Kitāb al-sīra*. Many of the same scholars and events appear in the *Siyar*, though some of those characters played much more prominent roles in this addition to the prosopographical tradition. Moreover, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* introduces to the written network new scholars from the mid to late 11th and beginning of the 12th century whom the *Kitāb al-sīra* did not include. This chapter begins by considering some of the important ways that the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* presents scholars and the knowledge they bear: namely, the growing importance of books and writing as methods for the transmission of knowledge and the increasingly defined role of the *ʿazzāba*. It also considers the utility of stories about nomadic Arabs and the dynastic powers of the eastern Maghrib in helping to distinguish the Ibāḍīs from their contemporaries in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*. A further consideration of the networks described in the text follows, with special attention to the changes in the relative

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153 On the history of the *Siyar al-wisyānī,* see: Mohamed Gouja, "Kitab As-Syars d'Abur-Rabi' Sulayman al Wisyani (VIe-XIIème) étude, analyse et traduction fragmentaire" (PhD Thesis, Université de Paris I, 1984); Amara, "Remarques sur le recueil ibāḍite-wahbite Siyar al-Mashāyikh: Retour sur son attribution"; Abū al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, ed. ʿUmar b. Luqmān Būʿaṣbāna, 3 vols. (Muscat: Wizārat al-turāth wa l-thaqāfa, 2009); Ouahmi Ould-Braham, "Une chronique Ibāḍite à textes berbères: le complexe Kitāb al-siyar de Wisyānī," *Études et Documents Berbères* 29–30 (November 2010): 311–44; Paul M. Love, "Écouter le conte d'un manuscrit: penser avec une copie d'une chronique ibadite de la bibliothèque Barouni à Djerba," *Études et Documents Berbères*, [forthcoming]; Ouahmi Ould-Braham, "Pour une étude approfondie d'une source historique médiévale. Une chronique ibāḍite à textes berbères (VIe H./XIIe siècle)," *Études et Documents Berbères* 33 (2014): 7–26.

importance of certain figures within that network. The increasingly large and complex written network represented in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* allows for the employment of an additional tool of network analysis, degree distribution, for thinking about the structure of the Ibāḍī networks of the Maghrib in the 11th and 12th centuries as they appear in this work.

**The Growing Importance of Manuscript Books**

The motif of books as tools for understanding the history of the Ibāḍī community reoccurs throughout the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*. In some cases, this appears in the form of an explicit reference to written works as media of association. In other cases, however, it shows up in a more indirect way in anecdotes relating to their composition, compilation, collection, and in some cases even the threat they pose to the community.

The 11th and 12th centuries witnessed a regional growth in both paper production and book composition in the Maghrib. Extant manuscripts from the Zirid period at the Great Mosque of Qayrawān demonstrate that substantial collections of books had already been amassed in the region by the 11th century.[154] The well-known 11th-century work attributed to Ibn Bādīs on the production of paper also suggests that well-established techniques for the production of paper had reached the Maghrib.[155] Although the use of parchment continued much later in the Maghrib than elsewhere likely due to the large number of sheep available for use in its production, by the 11th century paper

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[154] Schacht, "Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites"; François Déroche, "A Note on the Medieval Inventory of the Manuscripts Kept in the Great Mosque of Kairouan," in *Writings and Writing: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in Honour of Dr. Januarius Justus Witkam*, ed. Robert Kerr and Thomas Milo (Cambridge: Archetype, 2013), 67–86; Miklos Muranyi, "Geniza or Ḥubus: Some Observations on the Library of the Great Mosque in Qayrawān," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 42 (2015): 183–200.

[155] Abū l-Qāsim b. Bādīs, *Kitāb 'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat dhawī al-albāb* (Alexandria: Dār al-wafā' li-dunyā, 2013). Partial translation published in: Martin Levey, *Mediaeval Arabic Bookmaking, and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1962).

had also taken its place as an important regional commodity.[156] Goitein noted that "Paper looms very large in the Geniza records" and that it was most likely "manufactured in factory-like, larger establishments rather than in small workshops."[157] While the majority of examples cited by Goitein relate to Egypt, he also noted that Egyptian paper was exported to Tunisia.[158] By the 12th century, there were likely centers of production from Sabta (Ceuta) to Tunis. The city of Tlimsān, for example, was a center for the production of paper in the 12th century.[159] Other Maghribi and Iberian cities were well known for their production of a key component in the production of binding for manuscript books: leather.[160] In this way, the importance of books in the *Siyar* reflects not only a parochial practice among Ibāḍī scholars in written sources but also a trend toward the production of and reliance upon manuscript books throughout the medieval Maghrib.[161]

This growing use of books played an important role in the preservation of memory. The opening of the *Siyar* echoes the fear expressed earlier in the *Kitāb al-sīra* that unless they were written down, the traditions and history of the Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib risked disappearing altogether:

> فإنّي نظرت إلى الآثار قد امَّحت[162] وإلى أخبار أهل دعوتنا قد انطمست فأحْببت أن أؤلّف لكم منها كتابا ممّا بلغني وصحّ عندي ولم تخالجني فيه الشكوك وأردت فيه السلوك لمناهجهم [ابتغاءً] لما عند الله مالك الملوك على ضعفي وقلّة علمي...

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156 Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 85–89.

157 Shelomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza. Volume I: Economic Foundations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 112.

158 Ibid, 81. The importance of Tunis as hub for Mediterranean trade more broadly was also the theme of the piece entitled "Medieval Tunisia: Hub of the Mediterranean" in Shelomo Dov Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).

159 Halima Ferhat, "Le livre instrument de savoir et objet de commerce dans le Maghreb médiéval," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 32 (1994): 53–62.

160 Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 85.

161 Regrettably, the *Siyar* contains no references to the production of paper or the binding of the books themselves. For notes on the paper and bindings of the extant manuscript corpus from the early modern period, see "Chapter 6: The Ravages of Time."

162 Buʿaṣbāna gives this verb as "*ammaḥat*" or "*ummiḥat*" in his printed edition, with the *shadda* over the *mīm*. As I have in other places, I have left the text as it appears in the printed edition. Since this specific verb form does not exist, however, I suspect that this is a typographical error and the *shadda* was simply misplaced. The intended verb is more likely "*amaḥḥat*" or "*umiḥḥat*" (IV form). In any case, the meaning is clearly related to being erased or made obsolete.

> I observed the traditions that had been erased and the accounts of the people of our community that had perished. I thus desired to compose a book of them for you of that which came down to me, which seemed correct to me, and in which doubts did not trouble me. In doing so, I sought to follow their method, relying upon what God, King of Kings, permitted me [to do regardless] of my weakness and the paucity of my knowledge…"[163]

In addition, however, the *Siyar* follows this by noting, as all other works in the corpus would do after him, the structure of the work as well as the compiler's debt to the prosopography that came before him:

> أبدأ في ذلك بروايات أهل دعوتنا من أهل الجبل ممّن انتهى إليّ ذكرهم ومناقبهم عن مشايخنا رحمهم الله وأردت ممّن رأى فيه غلطا أو شططا أن يصلحه فرحمة الله على شيخنا أبي زكرياء له فضل السبق في هذا…
>
> I begin that [task] with the accounts of the people of our community from the people of the mountain [of Nafūsa], including what has come to me from our shaykhs—may God have mercy on them—of their stories and virtues, may God have mercy on them. And I desire from whoever sees in [this work] error or distortion that he correct it. And may the mercy of God be upon our Shaykh Abū Zakarīyā' [al-Warjalānī], for he has precedence in this…[164]

This attention to the written works of predecessors, alongside an indication as to the structure of the work that the compiler lays before the reader, became standard practice in the major Ibāḍī prosopographies that followed the *Siyar* over the next three centuries. This in itself marks an important change in the awareness of authorship and a recognition that a books had identifiable, if fluid, boundaries. The connection among the authors and compilers of these prosopographies represents yet another type of link among Ibāḍī scholars in the network. In acknowledging and in many cases drawing from their written predecessors, the compilers of Ibāḍī prosopographies connected themselves to the ever-expanding network of the prosopographical tradition. On the levels

[163] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 228.
[164] Ibid, 229-30.

of both composition and narrative, the Middle Period witnessed an increasing reliance upon manuscript books and the work they do to augment the continuing tradition of personal interaction.

The *Siyar* notes in a number of anecdotes how and why books were written, compiled, collated and read. Stories relating to books often include some kind of comparison with or correction by oral tradition. For example, Abū Miswar Yasjā and his fellow student Abū Ṣāliḥ Bakr studied under a scholar named Ibn Māṭūs in the late 10th century. Having completed their studies, they then traveled to the village of Salāmlak (in the Jarīd) to study books before returning to Ibn Māṭūs to check the information they had gathered from these books.[165] In another anecdote, the same Abū Ṣālīh has his son recite from three different copies of a work entitled *al-Muḥīḍ*. After listening to the recitation, Abū Ṣāliḥ informs his son that only one of the three represents the correct (*ṣaḥīḥ*) version.[166] Yet another story describes the well-known 11th-century scholar Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr supporting an opinion by first quoting an oral source and then an unnamed book.[167] This juxtaposition of oral and written knowledge indicates not only the growing importance and presence of written works in this period but also the interplay between oral and written texts.

The *Siyar* differs remarkably from the *Kitāb al-sīra* in that it also includes extended passages in Berber. Aside from serving as another indication that medieval Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib would have spoken in Berber rather than Arabic, these passages also suggest something about the use of the *Siyar*.[168] The recitation of books would not only have aimed at verifying their contents but also

[165] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 294.
[166] Ibid., 290.
[167] Ibid., 340; Cf. similar anecdotes on 380-1; 411.
[168] Mohamed Meouak recently published a monograph on the use of Berber in the medieval Maghrib, which demonstrates the continuing importance of Berber languages alongside Arabic. On the Berber-language texts by Ibāḍī authors, see

at instruction and discussion of those contents. The extended passages of Berber texts in the *Siyar* indicate that scholars and students would have read it, like other medieval Islamic texts, aloud rather than in private. The Berber passages in the *Siyar* have no explanation as to their meaning in Arabic, suggesting that the audience would have understood these passages when read aloud.[169] These Berber quotations throughout the *Siyar* hint at the performance of the text and the continuing exchange between oral and written texts.

The *Siyar* also provides anecdotes describing the composition, copying, and collation of books. As in the passage above describing Abū Ṣāliḥ and his son, books were often recited to verify their contents. While this process in other intellectual circles of the Islamicate world would become quite formalized into *sāmāʿāt* statements of verification or license to transmit the book (*ijāza*),[170] the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib appear to have had a less formalized practice. Instead, books were copied and either collated orally in an informal audition with a scholar known to have memorized the work or to have collated it with additional written copies. For example, Ḥammū b. Aflaḥ al-Maṭkūdī al-Mazātī (d. 11th c.) had a reputation for fine handwriting and the *Siyar* describes how he collated ten

"Vestiges de la langue berbère dans les textes ibadite du Maghrib" in Meouak, *La langue berbère au Maghreb médiéval*, 297–360.

[169] On these passages see Ould-Braham, "Une chronique Ibāḍite à textes berbères: le complexe Kitāb al-siyar de Wisyānī"; Lewicki, "Mélanges berbères-ibadites."

[170] Recent scholarship has used *samāʿāt* statements and other research on reading practices from the Ayyubid and Mamluk period as a rich body of material to complement the prosopographical information from biographical dictionaries. E.g., see K. Hirschler, "Reading certificates (*samāʿāt*) as a prosopographical source: Cultural and social practices of an elite family in Zangid and Ayyubid Damascus" in Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler, eds., *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2012); Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); Noah Daedalus Gardiner, "Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Ahmad al-Buni and His Readers through the Mamluk Period" (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2014).

different books by comparing written versions of the texts.[171] This same Ḥammū was also regularly employed to finish books with missing sections through a similar practice of copying and collating.

Perhaps most famously, the *Siyar* makes reference to two important collectively authored works by scholars in the 11th and 12th centuries. The first was the *Dīwān* written by the "people of the cave of *amjamāj* (*ahl ghār amjamāj*)."[172] This group, mentioned already in the *Kitāb al-sīra*, composed an eleven-volume compendium of *fiqh* on the island of Jarba. The second work was the collectively-authored *Dīwān al-ashyākh* comprising some twenty-five volumes written in the 12th century by scholars in the Warjalān area. While the manuscript tradition tracing these two works is unclear and the two are often confused with one another,[173] their composition in the 11th and 12th centuries further points to the importance of committing knowledge to writing among Ibāḍī communities in this period. Moreover, their multiple authorship emphasizes the collective character of the Ibāḍī literary tradition into which the prosopographies fit.

Both the material and immaterial value of books is another theme of the *Siyar.* Anecdotes speaking to scholars' desire to purchase, collect, and retain books reinforce that they were valued both for their monetary value and for the prestige and pleasure of owning and collecting them. For example, in the 11th century Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ibrāhīm al-Mazātī spent some one thousand dinars (!) on books and at the time of his death left behind forty sacks (*mikhlā*) of them.[174] In another story, a man takes a loan in order to purchase a well-known *tafsīr*. When the he fails to repay the loan, the debate

[171] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 502.
[172] Although the group responsible for this compendium was mentioned in the *Kitāb al-sīra*, it deserves mention that that work contains no reference to the written work itself.
[173] Prévost, "Maǧmāǧ et les sept savants: la création du Dīwān al-ʿazzāba."
[174] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 738–39.

over ownership of the book escalates to the level of a tribal dispute between the two parties, only to find resolution when a *qāḍī* cuts the book in half with a knife, instructing each side to copy that of the other.[175] Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Lawwātī (d. 1133) described a trip he took to the fortress (*qalʿa*) of the Banū Ḥammād in search of a copy of a *tafsīr* by the first Rustamid Imam. Although it had already been purchased by someone else by the time he arrived, he made sure to purchase many other books before leaving the city.[176] These passages reflect not only the monetary value of books but also the lengths to which scholars would go to obtain and collect them.

That an 'author' often did not pen his work in his own hand also recurs as a regular theme throughout the *Siyar.* A work attributed to Saʿd b. Īfāw (d. 11th c.), for example, comprised a collection of *responsa* to the questions of his many students and was only later compiled into a written work by the same Ḥammū b. Aflaḥ mentioned above.[177] Many times a specific work was left on wooden writing tablets (*alwāḥ*) before later being compiled into a book (*kitāb*).[178] Another well-known work of Ibāḍī fiqh, the *Kitāb al-waṣāyā wa l-buyūʿ,* was attributed to Abū Muḥammad Wīslān (d. late 10th/early 11th c.) but comprised *responsa* compiled by his students.[179] In this case, however, the *Siyar* notes that someone recited (*ʿaraḍa*) the book in the shaykh's presence for his approval.[180]

The attention in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* to these and other practices relating to books reflects their monetary value as well as their power to connect a new generation of scholars with those before

[175] Ibid., 485.
[176] Ibid., 417.
[177] Ibid., 317.
[178] A common practice in the manuscript history of the Sahara as pointed out recently in Houari Touati, "Écriture et commerce dans le Sahara précolonial," *Studia Islamica* 107 (2012): 122–31.
[179] See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:13.
[180] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 568; Cf. similar story on 567.

them. In some cases, this appears as the explicit purpose and contribution of books of *siyar*. For example, Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (d. 1079) is asked by a student if one should praise or disdain scholars on the basis of what the *Dīwān al-ʿazzāba* says about them. To this he responds: "Of course! In what way have we associated (*tawallaynā*) with those righteous ones who came before us if not through books?"[181] Both the question and its answer reveal the growing power of the book by the late 11th century to bring together scholars of different generations into the same intellectual network.

But the power of books to connect scholars to each other and to bring the community closer together could also prove dangerous. Challengers to Rustamid leadership like the *Nukkār* and other religious or political opposition movements scattered throughout the region appeared from the earliest days of that dynasty's rule.[182] In the *Kitāb al-sīra,* the discussion of the challengers to the Rustamids had taken place mostly on the level of event-driven narrative, with those loyal to the Rustamids defeating each of the rival movements. By contrast, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* assumes the existence of these rival Ibāḍī communities in the post-Rustamid period and acknowledges that they also produced their own written works, which enjoyed some popularity throughout the Maghrib.[183] Debates over whether or not reading these works constituted grounds for (normally temporary) excommunication (*al-ikhrāj ilā al-khaṭṭa*), and even over the adverse effects of the physical presence of these books hold a surprisingly prominent place in the traditions preserved in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī.*

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[181] Ibid., 692; Cf. similar passage on same page.

[182] On opposition to the Rustamids see: Love, "Djerba and the Limits of Rustamid Power. Considering the Ibāḍī Community of Djerba under the Rustamid Imāms of Tāhert (779-909CE)"; Prévost, "Les innovations de Naffāṯ b. Naṣr ou le troisième schisme chez les ibadites."

[183] Ibn Yazīd al-Fazārī, in particular, appears to have enjoyed much popularity among Maghribi Ibāḍī communities: al-Fazārī, *Early Ibāḍī theology*.

Two different sections of the *Siyar* warning of the dangers of associating with the 'dissenters' (*mukhālifūn*) include the risk inherent in reading their books.[184] Among those authors to be avoided were Ibn al-Ḥusayn[185] and the Nukkārī theologian Ibn Yazīd al-Fazārī.[186] Various passages make reference to the *mukhālifūn* having had their own '*Dīwān'* comparable to the *Dīwān al-ʿazzāba*. For example, one of the main authorities quoted in the *Siyar,* Abū Muḥammad al-Lawwātī (d.1133), describes how he purchased this *dīwān* of the *mukhālifīn* but later regretted it. He decided to bury it in the ground—only to have it discovered (conveniently) by Naffāth b. Naṣr, himself a dissident (*mukhālif*) in the eyes of the Wahbī Ibāḍī tradition.[187] In another story, when a man offers Māksin b. al-Khayr (d.1097) a collection of twelve books he hesitates to take them because he believes Nukkārīs wrote them. Ultimately, he is relieved to find out that they are in fact responses to the arguments of the Nukkār.

Yet another anecdote describes Abū Muḥammad Wīslān (d. late 10th/early 11th c.) instructing an *ʿazzābī* student to avoid an unnamed book and telling another to offer a book to the fire because of the danger inherent in it.[188] One Yūsuf b. Zakarīyāʾ al-Zawāghī was expelled from the community after the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of the town discovered he had been reading the *Kitāb al-ishrāf,* a work describing differences of opinion among non-Wahbī Ibāḍīs.[189] The *Siyar* elsewhere equates reading the books of

[184] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 507-10-22.
[185] Ibid., 508.
[186] Ibid., 438; 510.
[187] Ibid., 445; On Naffāth's "Kitāb" see 303.
[188] Ibid., 316.
[189] Ibid., 720; Cf. similar passage on 722.

the *mukhālifīn* with selling used garments (considered ritually unclean) or illicit practices in selling date palms.[190]

The danger that books could spread illicit ideas and encourage rival Ibāḍī communities reiterates the almost total absence of the Nukkārī and other non-Wahbī voices from the written traditions of Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa. As in the examples above, those communities become unnamed 'dissenters' and both they and their books in most cases represent literary motifs rather than specific people. In this way, another effect of the move toward the use of manuscript books for the transmission of historical memory was that the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition helped write out of existence those communities that competed with the Wahbī majority for supporters.

Whether as positive agents for connecting Ibāḍī scholars across time and space or as dangerous tools for spreading illicit ideas, the *Siyar* demonstrates that by the late 11th and early 12th centuries books came to complement itinerant scholars in the maintenance of the boundaries of the Ibāḍī community in the Maghrib. In each of the above cases, the *Siyar* makes clear that writing, compiling, collating and reading books has begun to take on a great importance for the Ibāḍī community. Anecdotes describing how scholars composed, transported, read, sought out, copied, coveted, or avoided books reflect a growing role for written works in establishing and maintaining the connections between scholars by the late 11th and early 12th centuries. As such, books came to serve as agents of communication across time and space, now serving alongside the scholars themselves as the tools for both the continued construction and maintenance of the network. Lastly, discussions of the illicit books of the Nukkār and other non-Wahbī communities in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* reflect the

[190] Ibid., 721–22.

power of the prosopographical tradition both to create and destroy connections between different members of the community.

### *Defining the ʿAzzāba*

And who made these decisions as to the licit or illicit nature of books and the ideas they contained? As discussed in the previous chapter, the traditional narrative of Ibāḍī history claimed that following the fall of the Rustamid Imams a system emerged for governing the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib known as the *ʿazzāba*. That chapter noted that the *Kitāb al-sīra* attributed the foundation of this system to one individual, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, through whom the system fanned out across the region. But the *Kitāb al-sīra* provided very little detail about the *ʿazzāba* or what they actually did. The reason for this likely stems from the system having not really existed yet—at least not in its more institutionalized form of later centuries. The *Siyar*, however, gives the impression of a move toward formalizing this system. Various anecdotes distinguish between the larger category of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) and righteous figures (*ṣulaḥāʾ*) to be imitated—the memory of which these prosopographies aimed to preserve—and the more specific category of the *ʿazzāba.*

Passages throughout the *Siyar* associate specific practices and characteristics with the status of *ʿazzābī*. Dietary restrictions, modes of interaction with each other, and even specific ways of wearing clothing appear in anecdotes about the *ʿazzāba*.[191] In addition, several anecdotes in the *Siyar* describe groups of *ʿazzāba* travelling together from one location to another. For example, one passage describes the practice of the *ʿazzāba* in which they would gather together and travel to the home of a

[191] *Siyar al-Wisyānī,* 487; 664; 665; 666; 680.

recently deceased person to offer collective consolation and recite the Quran.[192] Another story describes gatherings of *ʿazzāba* to discuss *tafsīr*.[193] Attendees would then send written communications to those unable to attend.[194] Their role as mediators in disputes as well as protectors and guardians of both their students and others also appear as regular themes.[195] At the same time, the *ʿazzāba* had not yet taken on political roles as leaders of the community because the *Siyar* notes that they often consulted or disagreed with tribal leaders or officials of the Zirids or the Hammadids, in whose spheres of influence they normally lived.[196] Finally, as reflected above, the *Siyar* also suggests that among the roles of the *ʿazzāba* was the codification of the Ibāḍī legal tradition in the form of large, collective works like the *Diwān al-ʿazzāba* and the *Dīwān ghār amjamāj.* While the *Siyar* does not present a precise description of what or who the *ʿazzāba* are, the work reflects an increasingly defined set of standards and practices associated with them by the 12th century.

As in the case of manuscript books, alternative *ʿazzāba* systems also appear in the *Siyar*. By virtue of their appearance in the *Siyar*, these rival, illegitimate *ʿazzāba* systems reinforce the legitimacy of the majority, Wahbī tradition. The Nukkārīs of Jabal Dummar, for example, had taken over the area and, installed their own shaykhs and organized their own *ḥalqa*s.[197] Occasionally, the line between Ibāḍīs and Nukkārīs as it related to *ʿazzāba* and their *ḥalqa*s also blurs, as Nukkārīs often appear as participants in debates and discussions among the *ʿazzāba* and vice versa.[198] Overall,

[192] Ibid, 677.
[193] Ibid, 678.
[194] Ibid, 679; Cf. similar written correspondences on 411.
[195] Ibid, 287; 300; 679.
[196] E.g., Ibid, 425-6.
[197] E.g., Siyar al-Wisyānī, 413; "*ʿuzzāb nukkār*," 467-8.
[198] Ibid, 295.

however, the *Siyar* provides vignettes and accounts from the lives of scholars in which Nukkārīs are identified by that title, distinguishing them and *excluding* them from the community.

The prosopographical tradition would require another century to codify the rules and regulations of the *ʿazzāba* and to formalize the memory of their establishment. However, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* builds upon the foundation narrative previously laid out in the *Kitāb al-sīra* by providing anecdotes and in some cases, specific descriptions of the *ʿazzāba* and what they did. The lines between scholar, pious figure, and *ʿazzābī* remained blurred, but the move toward formalization had clearly begun by the 12th century. Just as books began to serve to draw connections among scholars and to define the boundaries of the written network, so too the *ʿazzāba* helped mark the internal limits of authority and define the structure of the Ibāḍī community in the *Siyar.* At the same time, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* serves as a reminder that the tradition it helped construct did not stand unchallenged in the Middle Period. Alternative interpretations of Ibāḍism continued to thrive in the form of books and rival *ʿazzāba* councils throughout the region in the late 11th and 12th centuries.

**The Utility of Non-Ibāḍīs in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī***

If books and the *ʿazzāba* had begun to define the internal parameters of the community, the *Siyar* also contains stories that mark the external limits of the Ibāḍī community by describing their non-Ibāḍī rivals and enemies. In some cases, these were the unnamed 'Arabs' and other nomads who continued their slow but steady migration into the Maghrib. In yet other cases, these stories describe the unjust (in the eyes of the Ibāḍīs) dynasties that continued to try to impose their rule over Ibāḍī communities and tribes. Both types of interaction with non-Ibāḍīs also point to the geographical boundaries of the

Ibāḍī community in the 11th and 12th centuries—the Ibāḍī archipelago of oases, mountain villages, and island strongholds in Northern Africa. Together, these anecdotes provide a better understanding of the context that produced this second collection of prosopographies.

As in the case of the *Kitāb al-sīra,* in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* both Arabic-speaking and non-Arabic speaking tribes continued to plague the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib through raids and attacks upon the villages of southern Ifrīqiyā, Warjalān, and the Jabal Nafūsa. Given the anecdotal structure of the *Siyar*, the work provides only glimpses into the nature of these relations. The last chapter discussed the nature of these tribes, arguing in agreement with Michael Brett that the Hilālī invasions were more the product of demographic and economic changes than of concerted invasion. Nevertheless, a major demographic change had begun in the late 10th and early 11th centuries and this had real effects on the Ibāḍīs by the late 11th and early 12th. Several passages describe unnamed 'Arabs' raiding villages or attacking shepherds, stealing sheep, goats, or even slaves.[199] The second part of the *Siyar* devotes a chapter to controversies surrounding association with the Arabs.[200] For example, one passage debates the permissibility of drinking water from wells controlled by Arabs.[201] This is followed by a quote from the 11th century scholar Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf declaring disassociation (*barā'a*) from the Arabs as being necessary because of their raids against Ibāḍīs.[202] In another passage, this same scholar reiterates the need for avoiding them in Jarba.[203] Even the consumption of camel meat and use of firewood appear as controversial because of their association with the Arab

[199] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 390; 391; 403; 701.
[200] Ibid., 681.
[201] Ibid., 684.
[202] Ibid. On 'al-walāyah wa l-barā'a' see: Cuperly, *Introduction à l'étude de l'ibāḍisme et de sa théologie*, 54–56; Hoffman, *The Essentials of Ibāḍī Islam*, 28–30.
[203] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 686.

tribesmen.[204] The *Siyar* elswhere encourages disassociation from certain Berber tribes "because they are like the Arabs" (*fahum mithla al-ʿarab*) in that they made raids against Ibāḍī villages.[205]

The Zirid and Hammadid dynasties continue to play an important role in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* by helping to distinguish the Ibāḍīs from their contemporaries. In addition to helping define the shifting geographical boundaries of the Ibāḍī communities of the region, the regular attacks against the Ibāḍīs by these two dynastic forces reinforced the overall mood of the *Siyar* of a community under constant threat. By the 11th century, the two dynasties had already separated into their respective realms, with the Zirids attempting to control the eastern Maghrib and its littoral and the Ḥammadids struggling to control their fortress stronghold (*qalʿa*) before transferring their seat of power to Bijāya.[206] Struggles between these dynasties and the Ibāḍīs, like those with the Arabic-speaking tribes of the south, appear throughout the *Siyar.* Typically referring to them as the "Ṣanhāja," the *Siyar* rarely specifies whether a Zirid or Hammadid force is in question. For example, a group of "Ṣanhāja thieves" makes an appearance in one story.[207] Another passage describes the failed attempt by a Ṣanhāja force to besiege the town of Ajlū.[208] Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr and his circle of students (*ḥalqa*) also encounter a Ṣanhāja force following the latter's attack on the Zanāta.[209] Finally, although the chronology remains murky, in the mid-to-late-11th century the Hammadids attacked and destroyed the city of Sadrāta,[210] where the last remnants of the Rustamid dynasty and its supporters had fled at the

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[204] Ibid, 685; 687-88.
[205] Ibid, 685.
[206] On Bijāya see: Dominique Valérian, *Bougie, port maghrébien, 1067-1510* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006).
[207] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 285.
[208] Ibid., 734.
[209] Ibid., 479.
[210] "Les destructions de Sadrāta" in Prévost, "Une tentative d'histoire de la ville ibadite de Sadrāta." A full historical study of Sadrata is forthcoming (2016): Aillet, Cressier, and Gilotte, *Sedrata, histoire et archéologique d'un carrefour du Sahara médiéval.*

beginning of the 10th century. These and other attacks on Ibāḍī communities in the Zāb marked the beginning of the end of the Ibāḍī presence in that region and their gradual retreat to the oases of the Sahara.[211]

In other cases, the relationship between Ibāḍī communities and the Zirids was far more explicit. An attack on the island of Jarba serves as one of the clearest examples of the complex relationship between the Zirids and the Ibāḍīs. Unlike the mainland communities of southern Ifrīqiyā and the Zāb, the Ibāḍīs of Jarba (like the nearby Jabal Nafūsa) did not have to deal with the Arabic-speaking tribes to the same extent as their mainland coreligionists in Ifrīqiyā. Instead, their enemies came from the coast and the sea. An early example is the Zirid attack on the island, in which Abū Zakarīyā' Faṣīl b. Abī Miswar receives a letter from the Zirid commander Ibrāhīm b. Wanū al-Mazātī (who is, by implication and tribal affiliation, himself an Ibāḍī) telling him to separate his family from members of the Zawāgha tribe on the island before the Zirid force arrives. When they do arrive, several notable Ibāḍī scholars die in an attempt to repel the attack—with the notable exception of Abū Zakarīyā' and his clan.[212] Although it discusses Jarba in this period, the *Kitāb al-sīra* does not include this story—likely due to its controversial implication of Zirid-Ibāḍī cooperation. Finally, the brief but important Norman occupation of Zirid Jarba and parts of the eastern Maghribi littoral escaped the attention of the compilers of the *Siyar*.[213]

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[211] On Ibāḍism in the Zāb see: Amara, "Entre le massif de l'Aurès et les oasis : apparition, évolution et disparition des communautés ibâḍites du Zâb (VIIIe-XIVe siècle)."

[212] al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*, 298; 307-8.

[213] On the Zirid campaigns in Ifrīqiyā see: David Abulafia, "The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman Expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1985): 26–49; Michael Brett, "Muslim Justice under Infidel Rule: The Normans in Ifriqiya, 517- 55H/1123-1160AD," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 43 (1991): 325–68.

In all of these situations, the *Siyar* offers anecdotes and vignettes that point to a volatile period of political change in the Maghrib in the 11th and early 12th centuries. These often-violent interactions with the nomadic tribes, the Nukkār, the Hammadids, and the Zirids help explain and justify the pessimistic tone of the *Siyar* regarding the future of the Ibāḍī community. By highlighting interaction with these groups and distinguishing them from the Ibāḍīs, the *Siyar* helps define the external boundaries of the Ibāḍī community in the Maghrib.

The emerging importance of book culture, the increasingly defined role of the *ʿazzāba*, and the political and geographical marginalization in the face of external enemies combined to help mark the boundaries of the Ibāḍī community of the Maghrib in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī.* The limits of the community had not remained static, however, and the *Siyar* also carried out the important task of expanding membership of the Ibāḍī community to include the new generations of scholars of the late 11th and 12th centuries. The remainder of the chapter will explore how the definition of the community's external boundaries occurred alongside an increasingly complex web of interactions within the community itself. Having established the context out of which the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* emerged, the chapter now turns to the context and network that it augmented and maintained.

**An Ever-Expanding Network**

In many ways the network of personal interactions described in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* reproduces that of the *Kitāb al-sīra*. Many of the same principal characters appear, although with different degrees of importance. In addition, however, the *Siyar* adds new scholars to the written network. As had been

the case in the *Kitāb al-sīra*, the network described in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* also reflects both its content and sources.

In particular, the relative importance of specific geographic locations becomes much more pronounced. Rather than framing the lives of scholars in rough chronological order, the first part of the *Siyar* divides these accounts and anecdotes according to geographic region. While many of these individuals were constantly on the move—something required in the context of political unrest described above—Ibāḍī scholars of the 11th and 12th centuries remained concentrated in the archipelago of oases, rural villages, mountain regions, and the island of Jarba. Part one of the *Siyar* groups anecdotes about scholars by regions: Jabal Nafūsa, "*Ahl al-Quṣūr* [Jarīd, Dummar]," Jarba, and Warjalān. Figures 9 and 10 depict both numerically and spatially how this section of the *Siyar* distributed its anecdotes.

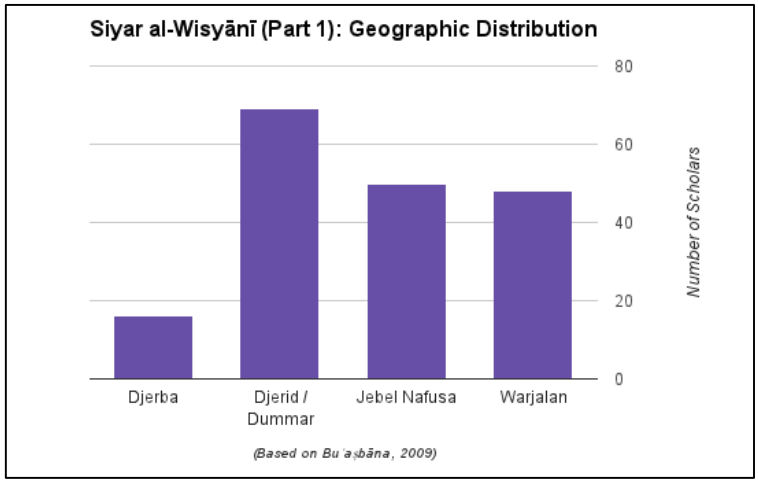


**Figure 9: Geographic distribution of relationships in Part 1 of Siyar al-Wisyānī**

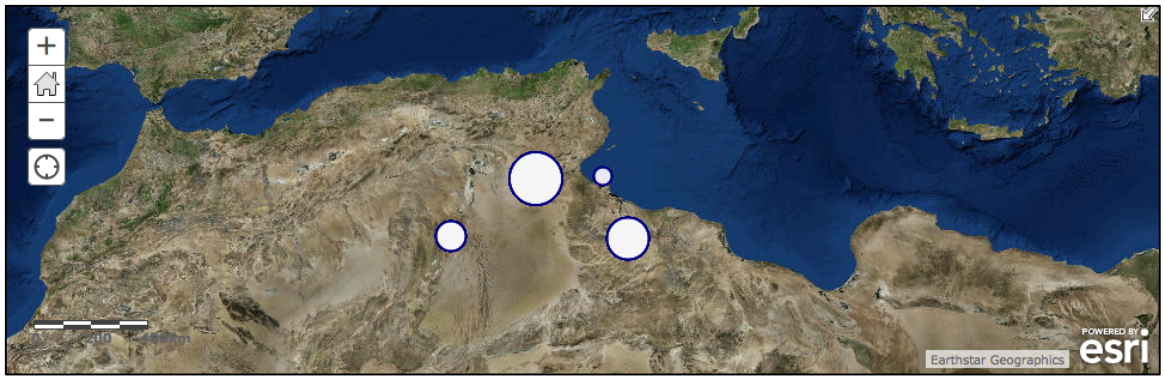


**Figure 10: Geographic distribution of relationships in Siyar al-Wisyānī**

The lack of defined chronology in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* means that only the geographic locations and connections between scholars appear defined. Nevertheless, even without chronological differentiation, the geographic concentrations are striking. The *Siyar* focuses its efforts on describing the lives of and interactions among scholars living in a narrowly-defined geographic region. Those who might have lived in more distant locations like Sijilmasa or even closer by in Tunis or Qayrawān, for example, were left out. In doing so, the *Siyar* complements the conceptual boundaries described above by drawing geographic boundaries for the Ibāḍī community in the Maghrib.

In addition to geographic boundaries, the compilers of the *Siyar* also helped defined the limits of membership by including (and excluding) the lives of specific scholars. Those same data from the first part of the *Siyar*, when visualized in terms of a network of interactions, appear in Figure 11.

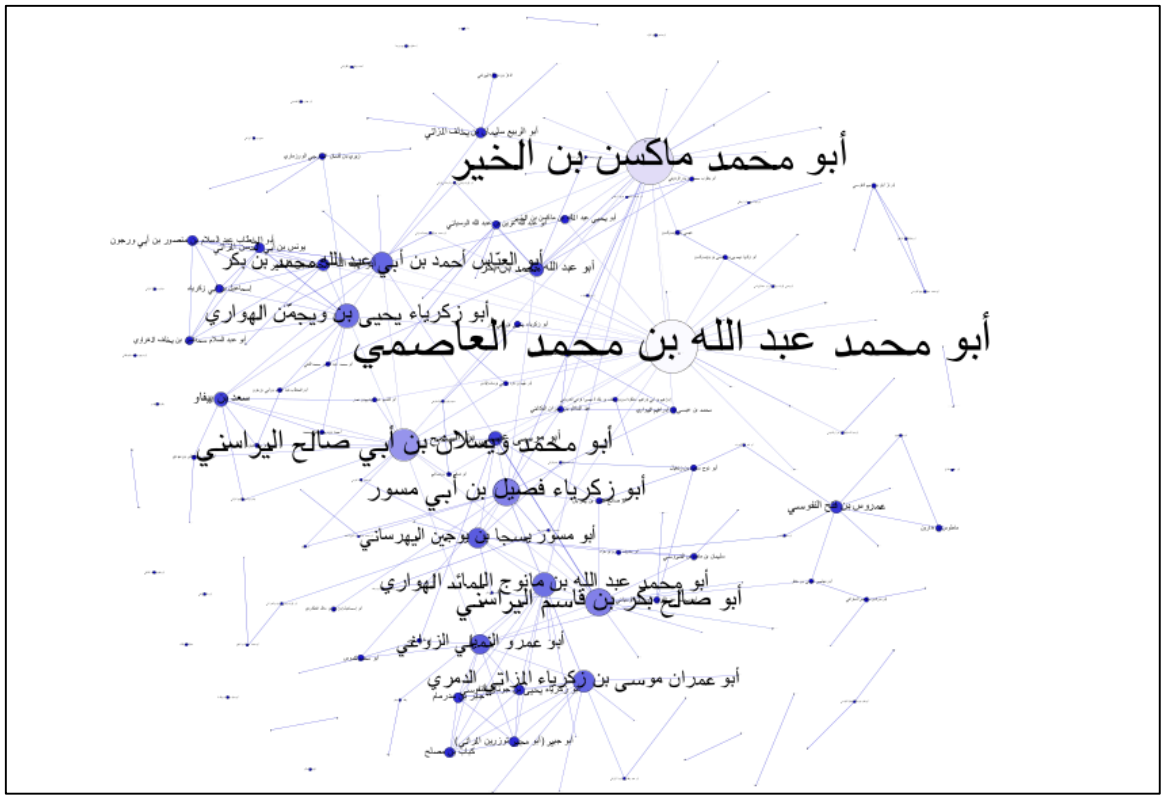


**Figure 11: Network graph for Part 1 of Siyar al-Wisyānī.**

The scholars appearing in this chart represent the key figures in the first part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*. As in the case of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, the graph reflects both the content of the *Siyar* and the context in which it was compiled. The first noteworthy difference is the increase in size and complexity. The number of scholars in described in the first part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* increased in size from **147** to **183**, while the number of relationships expanded from **254** to **286**.

| ***Siyar al-Wisyānī* (Part 1): Network Summary** | |
|---|---|
| Total Number of Nodes | 183 |
| Total Number of Edges | 286 |
| Degree Range | 1-28 |
| Average Degree | 2.995 |
| Average Path Length | 3.762 |
| Network Diameter | 8 |

**Table 2: *Siyar al-Wisyānī* Network Summary**

| *Kitāb al-sīra* (*Parts 1 and 2*): Network Summary | |
|---|---|
| Total Number of Nodes | 147 |
| Total Number of Edges | 254 |
| Degree Range | 1-38 |
| Average Degree | 1.692 |
| Average Path Length | 4.55 |
| Network Diameter | 11 |

Table 3: *Kitāb al-sīra* (Parts 1 and 2) Network Summary

Although this first part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* contains many of the same scholars described in the *Kitāb al-sīra,* this newer work brings those figures closer together. Another striking difference between the two graphs is the existence of isolates (i.e., scholars with no connections). Whereas the *Kitāb al-sīra* connected almost every scholar to at least one other scholar, the first part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* mentions anecdotes relating to 34 individuals who have no obvious connection to others in the network. Yet by inserting these new individuals into the written network of prominent Ibāḍī figures, the *Siyar* brings them into the same large-scale network of the Ibāḍī tradition.

The scholars with high degrees reveal something about the context of the work. For example, the largest name, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀṣimī, served as one of the explicit sources of information in the *Siyar*. In order to examine the other scholars with high degrees, the graph must be simplified. The next graph (Figure 12) represents those scholars in part one of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* with a degree of ten or more.


**Figure 12: The written network of scholars from the Siyar al-Wisyānī (Part 1) with a degree of at least 10**

The majority of these well-connected figures displayed in the graph spent the bulk of their lives in Jarba, rather than (as one would expect from the geographic distribution above) in the Jarīd, Dummar, Jabal Nafūsa, or Warjalān. This suggests an especially important role in the *Siyar* for the scholars of Jarba in the late 10th and early 11th century and their prominence in a manuscript tradition compiled in the 12th century. That is, although a larger number of scholars from the other regions are listed in the *Siyar*, those of Jarba have a much higher degree of connectivity.

As noted in the previous chapter, the *Kitāb al-sīra* had already assigned Jarba a prominent place in the written network. Although they discuss individuals from around the same time period, the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the first part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* assign different importance to different individuals. For example, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Bakr, the key figure of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, has a much lower degree in the first part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī.* While other key figures from the former

text like Abū Muḥammad b. Mānūj and Abū ʿImrān Mūsā al-Mazātī still hold an important place, they have far lower degrees in the latter.

The second part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* (usually assumed to have been compiled by one or more of al-Wisyānī's students[214]) charts the growth of the network to include new members. However, the complexity of the graph of the second part of the work makes it difficult to read (Figure 13).

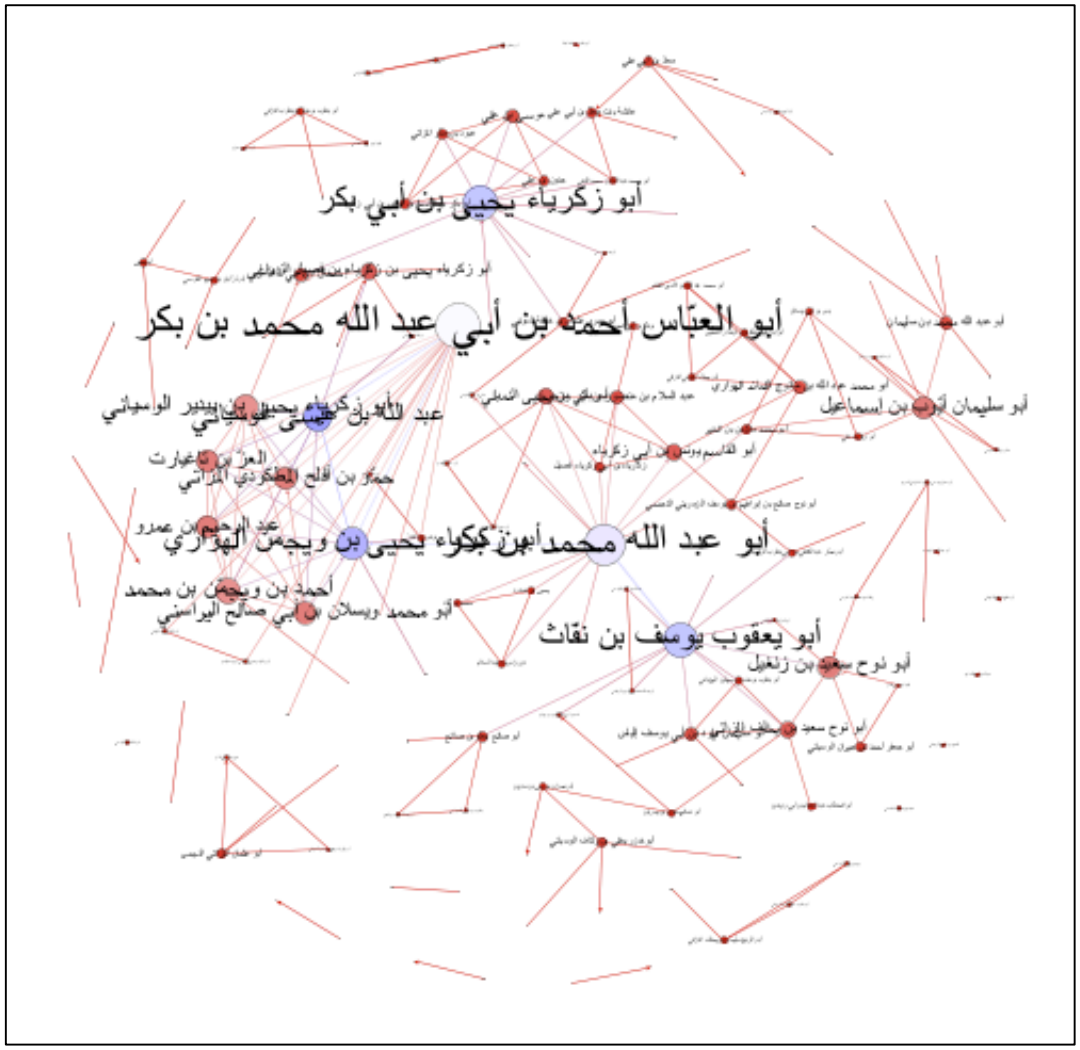


**Figure 13: Network Graph of Part Two of the Siyar al-Wisyānī**

[214] See introduction to al-Wisyānī, *Kitāb siyar al-wisyānī*. Cf. discussion in Amara, "Remarques sur le recueil ibāḍite-wahbite Siyar al-Mashāyikh: Retour sur son attribution."

| *Siyar al-Wisyānī* (Part 2): Network Summary | |
|---|---|
| Total Number of Nodes | 155 |
| Total Number of Edges | 222 |
| Degree Range | 1-15 |
| Average Degree | 2.839 |
| Average Path Length | 4.962 |
| Network Diameter | 13 |

Table 4: Siyar al-Wisyānī (Part 2) Network Summary

Again, many of the structural features of the first part of the *Siyar* appear in this second part (hubs, isolates, etc.). However, the scholars appearing in this graph date primarily to the 11th and early 12th centuries—which makes sense given that the work is assumed to have been compiled a generation or so later. By clearing up some of the 'noise' of this graph and applying the same filter (Figure 14), some of the principal nodes can be analyzed.

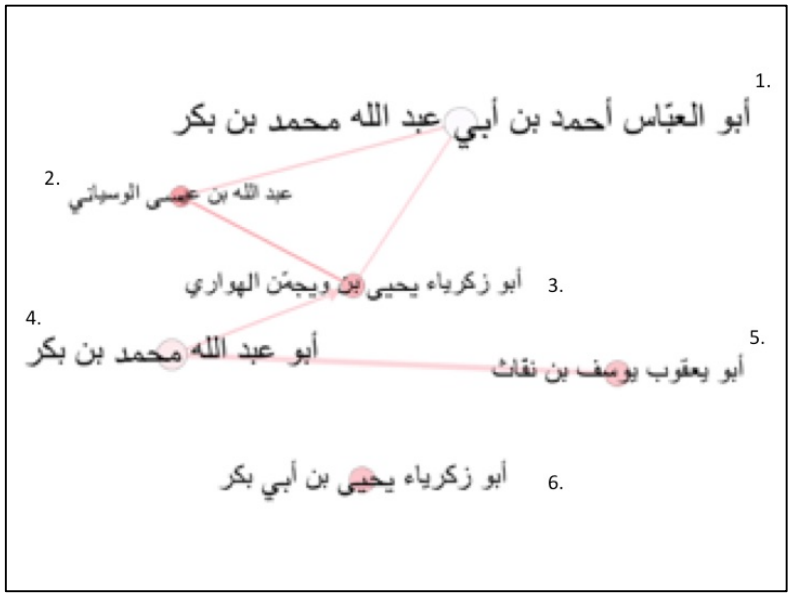


Figure 14: Network Graph of Scholars with ten or more edges in Part Two of Siyar al-Wisyānī

Several things are immediately striking about this next graph. First, the importance of Abū 'Abdallāh Mūḥammad b. Bakr (no.4), to whom the *Kitāb al-sīra* attributed the founding of the *'azzāba*,

remains a well-connected node. However, his son Aḥmad (no.2) now takes his place as the scholar with the most links. Another fascinating feature of this graph is the prominence of Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr (no.6, the attributed author of the *Kitāb al-Sīra*). As noted in the introduction, connections between scholars do not rely on chains of transmission but rather on instances of personal interaction. This means that Abū Zakarīyā' by the 12th century had become a key figure in the written network of which he was the attributed creator.

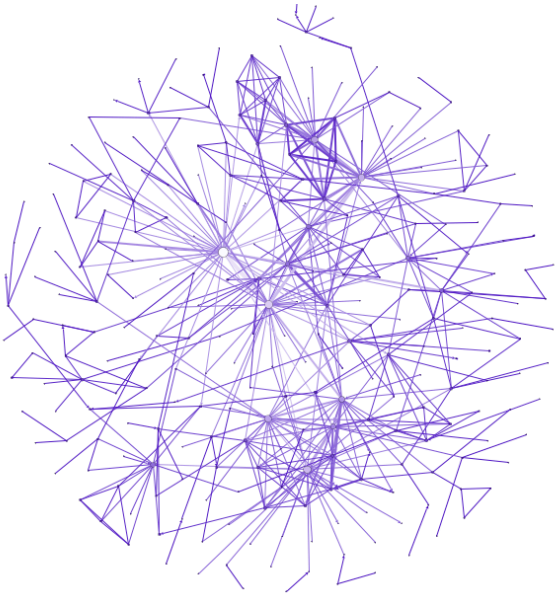

**Figure 15: Network Graph (without labels) of all three parts of the Siyar al-Wisyānī. The presence of hubs and the absence of outliers are remarkable features.**

As noted above, the third and final part of the printed edition of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* appeared as the second part of the *Kitāb al-Sīra* in its 1985 edition by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ayyūb.[215] The confusion over the attribution of these texts only reinforces the larger point that the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition aimed at bringing Ibāḍī scholars together across time and space. Whether each part of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* represents a separate manuscript tradition matters little from the perspective of the written network. Indeed, the overlap between the two works supports the idea that Ibāḍī prosopographies seek to establish links between scholars of different times and places. Combining all three parts of the printed edition of the *Siyar* reveals an especially dense network in which a key structural feature of the previous two graphs, the isolates, has all but disappeared (Figure 15). Having

[215] al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*.

discussed some of the implications of the individuals in the graphs, the chapter now considers what an additional tool of network analysis, degree distribution, can reveal about the structure of the written network when applied to all three parts of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī.*

Degree distribution charts offer another way of visualizing the data depicted above. While the figures above depict the overall size of the network and the existence of hubs, the histogram below demonstrates the disproportionate distribution of connections among scholars (Figure 16).

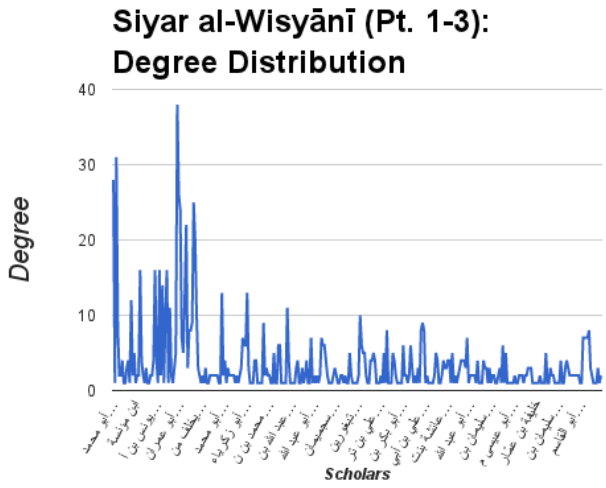


**Figure 16: Degree distribution of Siyar al-Wisyānī (Pt. 1-3), arranged according to occurrence in text**

The degree distribution in Figure 8 demonstrates that a handful of scholars hold far more connections than the average. The graph depicts the degree distribution of scholars in the order they appear in the text. If rearranged according to degree (Figure 17), the same data reveal a fascinating feature of the structure of the written network in the *Siyar*: a "power-law" distribution.

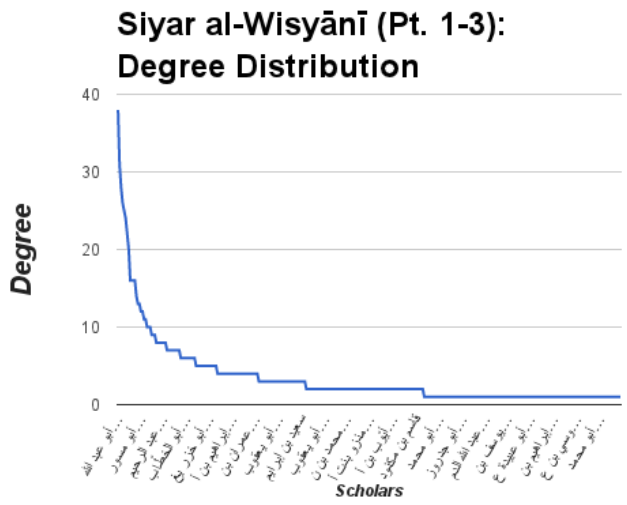


**Figure 17: Degree Distribution of Siyar al-Wisyānī (Pt. 1-3) arranged according to degree**

This power-law distribution suggests that the network is "scale-free," meaning that it has no 'peak' and that a small number of nodes have an unusually high number of edges. This same "scale-free" structure applies to virtually any real-world network. Examples of networks from dozens of fields ranging from computer science to epidemiology reflect the same structure.[216] In terms of the 'real-world' network described in the *Siyar*, this would suggest that a very small number of scholars served as the hubs connecting most other students and scholars to one another in their entirely. By establishing a link to one of these principal connectors (either in person or through a written work), the *Siyar* inserted a student or scholar into the network of Ibāḍī scholars in the 11th and 12th centuries as well as backward in time. More precisely, this degree distribution reflects the *written* network of the *Siyar* in the 11th and 12th centuries. This means that the text itself connected the average scholar in some way to this handful of hubs. In both the 'real' and 'written' worlds, this raises the same question: how did this happen?

[216] Barabási and Bonabeau, "Scale-Free Networks."; Barabási, *Linked*.

Although network analysts often offer a mathematical probability as a possible explanation for the emergence of a power-law distribution, in the case of the Ibāḍī networks of the 11th and 12th century two additional concepts of network analysis help illustrate its development over time: preferential attachment and homophily. Social scientists studying networks of human relationships use these terms as technical equivalents of the axiom 'birds of a feather flock together.'[217] In the case of the human relationships under consideration here, homophily applies to Ibāḍī scholars and students in that they were mostly likely to associate with other Ibāḍī scholars (often of the same tribe or living in the same location). This lays the groundwork for the network described in the *Siyar* as a whole. Preferential attachment adds a layer of clarification in that it assumes that new nodes in a network (in this case, students) had a tendency to associate with those scholars in the network who themselves already had a large number of connections. Well-known scholars like Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr or Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf would have attracted students, which would in turn reinforce their reputations. This helps to explain the large number of students and associations between already-established scholars as the network developed.

Yet the network described in the *Siyar* no doubt represents only a fraction of the students and scholars active in the 11th and 12th centuries. Another way of explaining the development of these hubs in the written network of the *Siyar* comes from the choices of the compilers to include individuals within the written record or to exclude them. The large number of anecdotes concerning these hubs in previous written works led compilers to emphasize connections between them and students or

[217] Homophily is also referred to as 'assortative mixing.' On network analysis of this phenomenon, see "7.13 Homophily and Assortative Mixing" in Newman, *Networks*, 220–26.

other lesser-known scholars. In this way, the *Siyar* allowed scholars who already had many connections to become even more connected while simultaneously relegating lesser-known scholars—or those deemed dissidents in the eyes of the Wahbī tradition—to obscurity.

**Conclusion**

The *Siyar al-Wisyānī* represents the further growth and definition of the written network of Ibāḍī scholars in the late 11th and early 12th century. This composite text reflects that expansion, growing complexity, and definition in several different ways. First, the many passages throughout the *Siyar* relating to book culture point to the growing importance and power of manuscript books for bringing the Ibāḍī community together. This move toward written works also reflects a much broader trend in the Maghrib toward the production and use of paper for the preservation and transmission of thought, while simultaneously demonstrating the continuing use of the Berber language among Ibāḍī communities in the region. But books could not only bring the community together, they could also prove disruptive—as was the case with the dissemination of works by 'dissidents' (*mukhālifūn*).

This chapter has also demonstrated that the *Siyar* marks a trend toward defining the internal and external boundaries of the Ibāḍī tradition. It marked the internal limits through passages detailing the role of the *'azzāba*, whereas it defined the community's external limits in stories distinguishing Ibāḍīs from their non-Ibāḍī contemporaries in the Maghrib. Likewise, the absence of certain individuals deemed to be dissidents by the creators, compilers, and audience of the prosopographical tradition also points to the power of these written works to exclude rivals.

This analysis of the written network of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* mirrors this process of expansion and maintenance. The compilers of the *Siyar* augmented the prosopographical tradition initiated by the *Kitāb al-sīra* by introducing new scholars and connecting those scholars to previous generations. Finally, the analysis of degree distributions identified this written network as 'scale-free,' meaning that a handful of individuals in the network served to unite the whole. In addition, the degree distribution chart above highlights the role of this work's compilers in shaping the limits of the community through the inclusion or exclusion of scholars, as well as the choice to include a larger number of anecdotes relating to certain individuals.

The often-silent influence of the compiler would become much more pronounced as the prosopographical tradition changed in later centuries. From the end of the 12$^{th}$ century forward, the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition would continue to maintain and augment these trends toward definition of the limits of the community and expansion of the network in response to the changing religious and political landscapes in the Maghrib of the Middle Period.

# Chapter 3:
# Formalizing the Network

Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* and the Ibāḍī communities from the mid-12th to the 13th centuries

**Introduction**

By the late 12th and early 13th centuries, the written network of Ibāḍī scholars in the Maghrib begun by the *Kitāb al-sīra* and augmented by the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* reached a new stage of formalization. This amounted to a transformation from works comprising collections of biographical anecdotes, historical vignettes, and juridical rulings into the formalized and explicitly-authored work of prosopography by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Darjīnī (d. mid-13th c.) known as the *Ṭabaqāt mashāyikh al-maghrib.* Using the *Ṭabaqāt* as a guide, this chapter argues that the late 12th and 13th centuries witnessed a crucial move in the formalization of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in several ways, including the written institutionalization of the *ʿazzāba* system, the structural arrangement of Ibāḍī scholars into generations of fifty years (*ṭabaqāt*), the linguistic dominance of Arabic in written scholarship, and a further stage in the move toward manuscript books as tools for the transmission of knowledge that existed alongside their oral counterpart. Finally, these steps toward formalization in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* bear witness to changes in the political and religious landscapes of the Ibadi archipelago in the Maghrib out of which it emerged.

**Formalizing the Network: Revision and Language**

The printed edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* consists of two distinct texts, both attributed to al-Darjīnī. Unlike its predecessors, the *Ṭabaqāt* has not been surrounded by a storm of philological debate over its authorship or the various manuscript recensions. While this difference likely stems from modern-day reliance on the single printed edition of the text,[218] even the manuscript tradition reflects a remarkable stability in that both parts of the *Ṭabaqāt* appear together the vast majority of the time.[219] Especially unfortunate has been the assumption of modern historians that the first part of the *Ṭabaqāt* amounts to little more than a revised version of the *Kitāb al-sīra*. Like the compilers of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*, al-Darjīnī's work explicitly identifies Abū Zakarīyāʾ al-Wārjalānī as the author of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, though for al-Darjīnī this title referred only to what modern historians consider the first of that work's two parts. Al-Darjīnī in his introduction noted that he had been asked to present a revised version of this section of the *Kitāb al-sīra*. He likewise made clear, however, that he had no intention of reproducing this work verbatim:

> قد سأل من وجبت طاعته ولم يسع اهمال أمره واساءة طاعته ان اجمع من سير اسلافنا واخبارهم ما تيسر لي جمعه وأضع في ذلك تصنيفا واحرز كل خبر بما يليه من كتاب ابي زكرياء يحيى بن ابي بكر رضى الله عنه استخلص ذلك وانتقيه...فأخذت في تهذيب الكتاب المذكور واضيف الى ذلك ما لا بد منه من خطبة وشعر غير مشهور...وقد رأيت ان اقدم مقدمة تكون فراشا للكتاب...
>
> Someone whose request must be obeyed and whose interest cannot be ignored…asked that I compile what was possible for me to gather of the biographies of our predecessors and their accounts and to lay them down in an ordered composition (*taṣnīfan*), preserving every account from the book of Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr—may God be pleased with him—summarizing and making selections from it….I thus took to the revision (*tahdhīb*) of the aforementioned book and adding to it whatever sermons and little-known poetry are necessary….And I saw fit to present an introduction as a frame for the book.[220]

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[218] Since its publication in 1974, the first printed edition by Algerian historian Ṭallāy has dominated scholarly citations: Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāʾikh bi-l-Maghrib.*, ed. Ṭallay, I., 2 vols. (Constantine, 1974). Prior to this printed edition Francophone scholarship relied primary on the studies carried out by Polish historian T. Lewicki, who was drawing from a manuscript copy of the work held in Krakow. On this collection, see "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus."

[219] On the material remains of the manuscript tradition of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, see "Chapter 6: The Ravages of Time."

[220] al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 2–3.

Al-Darjīnī made good on his promise. The *Ṭabaqāt* may contain much of the text of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, but the work represents the product of arrangement, augmentation, and transformation at al-Darjīnī's own hands. To begin with, he notes in the introductory pages to the work that he feels obliged to include what amounts to a dictionary of terms (*muṣṭalaḥāt*) associated with the *ʿazzāba* and the *ḥalqa*. One by one, al-Darjīnī explains not only the meaning of each term, but also the roles and functions of each member of the *ʿazzāba*,[221] helping to formalize the roles described in anecdotes about the ʿ*azzāba* found in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī.*

Al-Darjīnī adapted this section on the duties and characteristics of the *ʿazzāba* in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* from an earlier, late 12th century text known as the *Siyar* attributed to Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tināwatī (d. late 12th c.).[222] This text served as the model for both al-Darjīnī's introductory section on the ʿ*azzāba* and (as al-Darjīnī himself explicitly points out) the ṭabaqāt system.[223] Abū ʿAmmār's work described the ideal characteristics of the members of the *ʿazzāba* and gave a list of the earlier generations of Muslims in Mecca and Basra. The appearance of this text sometime in the 12th century and its central importance to the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* in the 13th century together point to a trend toward formalization of both the *ʿazzāba* system and of the method for presenting the history of the Ibāḍī community.

As al-Darjīnī moved through the text of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and other sources—particularly the traditions found in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*— for use in his own work, he made a number of remarkable changes to them. Among the more striking features of the printed edition of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* are

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[221] "Dhikr alfāẓ mimā aṣṭalaḥa ʿalāyhā ahl al-ṭarīq," Ibid, 3-6.
[222] Published as: Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tanāwatī, *Siyar Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī*, ed. Masʿūd Mazhūdī (Oman: Maktabat al-Ḍāmirī, 1996).
[223] al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 6.

the rearrangement, omission, and addition of passages from the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the absence of the Berber-language passages that had appeared in the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*. As for the first of these, Lewicki noted the sophistication of the language of the *Ṭabaqāt* including the use of rhyming *sajʿ* style, the sophistocated sentence structure, and so forth.[224] These additions, omissions, and changes to the *Kitāb al-sīra* effectively produced a new work in a higher register of formal Arabic. The second remarkable feature of the *Ṭabaqāt*, the absence of Berber, results from al-Darjīnī's efforts to compose a work entirely in Arabic. Nevertheless, the everyday use of Berber among his contemporaries makes this choice striking.

With the exception of toponyms and onomastic information, al-Darjīnī chose to replace all quotations from other traditions that had previously appeared in Berber with their Arabic equivalents. If he indeed wrote the work for an eastern audience, this would help explain the absence of Berber.[225] Yet al-Darjīnī himself came from a long line of Berber-speaking scholars and poets—evidenced by his various comments on the meter (*wazn*) of Berber poetry and the biographies of his father and grandfather.[226] Berber would have remained the language of instruction, especially for novices. For example, al-Darjīnī relates a story about Abū Muḥammad b. al-Amīr attending a session in which an *ʿazzābī* was reciting the *ḥadīth* traditions of al-Rabīʿ b. al-Ḥabīb. Ibn al-Amīr would listen to traditions in Arabic and then provide translations (including of the *isnād*s, as al-Darjīnī's account emphasizes) of the traditions in *al-barbariyya* for the audience.[227] Even if Arabic had come to

[224] E.g., Tadeusz Lewicki, "Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'ad-Darjīnī," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 11 (1936): 146–72.
[225] In the 14th century, Abū l-Qāsim al-Barrādī claimed in his *Kitāb al-jawāhir* that al-Darjīnī wrote the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* for an Omani scholar. On this see "Chapter 4: Retroactive Networks."
[226] al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 513–21.
[227] Ibid., 416.

dominate the field of written scholarship, Berber remained the spoken language of Ibāḍī communities in the late 12th and 13th centuries.

Alongside the absence of written Berber, however, comes the presence of another striking difference between the *Kitāb al-sīra* in its earlier iteration and the version found in the *Ṭabaqāt*: the explicit citation and use of written sources. Al-Darjīnī makes references to numerous Ibāḍī works, beginning with the *Kitāb al-sīra* itself throughout the *Ṭabaqāt*. Throughout the second part of the work, he also regularly introduces traditions with "Abū al-Rabīʿ mentioned…(*dhakara Abū al-Rabīʿ…*)," which as al-Darjīnī himself notes in his section on Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Wisyānī, refer to passages from the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*.[228] At other times, the name refers to Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf, who served as a principal source for the *Kitāb al-sīra*.[229] Historians have long held that this latter scholar composed a book of *siyar*, although the extant text under the title *Kitāb al-siyar* appears to be misnamed.[230] In addition to the work of *Siyar* by Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfi, al-Darjīnī drew from many other Ibāḍī works of the Maghrib and the Mashriq.[231]

Al-Darjīnī's version of the *Kitāb al-sīra* makes use of some non-Ibāḍī sources as well. This distinguishes the *Ṭabaqāt* from both of its predecessors that drew mainly from local oral traditions or, in the case of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*, occasional Ibāḍī written sources. For example, al-Darjīnī explicitly interrupts his revision of the *Kitāb al-sīra* in order to reference the work of 11th-century Andalusī

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[228] Ibid., 513.

[229] See discussion in Chapter One above.

[230] Ennami, "A Description of New Ibadi Manuscripts from North Africa," 72–73. The lithograph edition of the *Kitāb al-siyar* by Abū l-Rabīʿ al-Mazātī shares little in common with other works belonging to this genre: Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī, *Kitāb al-siyar* (Tunis: [litho.], 1903). On the manuscript history and additional printed editions see Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:215–16.

[231] On al-Darjīnī's sources see the entry "al-Darjīnī" in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 3rd Ed. (Online); Cf. Lewicki, "Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'ad-Darjīnī."

geographer al-Bakrī (d.1094), the *Kitāb al-masālik wa'-l-mamālik,* in his description of Tāhart and its environs:

> قال الشيخ ابو العباس وقد وقفت في كتاب المسالك والممالك من ذكر بناء تاهرت على ما هو أوضح وأزيد فائدة ورأيت ان اثبته في هذا الموضع وان كان فـ[ـي] بعضه خلاف لما صححناه عن المشائخ.
>
> Al-Shaykh Abū al-ʿAbbās [al-Darjīnī] said: In the *Kitāb al-masālik wa'-l-mamālik*, I came cross a clearer and longer telling of the building of Tāhart. I saw fit that I should place [the account here] in this place. If [the account] erred, we corrected it based upon the [accounts of the Ibāḍī] mashāyikh.[232]

Considering the geographical coverage of al-Bakrī's work, it also provided access to al-Darjīnī of numerous historical details regarding the Western Maghrib and al-Andalus.

His references to these Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī works as written and explicitly authored books suggest an increase in the circulation of manuscript works in Ibāḍī communities during the 13th century. Al-Darjīnī composed his work in Jarba, an important hub in the Ibāḍī intellectual network since the 10th century. No indication as to where these sources were held or any mention of personal or public book collections appear in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Nevertheless, the number of sources he quoted in order to support his recension of the *Kitāb al-sīra* points to the availability of a much larger numbers of manuscript works being available.

In addition to locally available works, by the late 12th century many Ibāḍī scholars would have travelled regularly to Tunis and other cities along the Northern African littoral to seek education and training. Already in the 11th century Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr had travelled to Qayrawān to study. In the 12th century, study in places like Tunis brought them into contact with a number of Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī works in both written and oral form. Darjīnī mentions in unusual detail the

[232] al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 42–43. The corresponding passage in the printed edition to al-Bakrī is: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa l-mamālik*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2003), 248.

education of Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī,[233] in particular, who travelled from Wārjalān to Tunis in order to "separate himself from the Berber language (*al-lisān al-barbarī*) by distancing himself from whose who spoke it and in order to practice Arabic (*lisān al-ʿarabiyya*) by mixing often with those who spoke it."[234] While in Tunis, his family annually sent him a handsome sum of 1000 *dinār*s(!) for both his living expenses and education. Half of this he gave to his shaykh, while the other half he spent on clothing, food, and books.[235] Darjīnī notes that he spoke with other students who had studied under the same shaykhs in Tunis, who verified Abū ʿAmmār's reputation and mentioned some of the books he studied. The travel of Abū ʿAmmār and other Ibāḍī students to Tunis in order to study and buy books reflect the increased reliance in the 12th and 13th centuries upon written sources, both Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī.

**Paper and Manuscript Production in the late 12th and 13th centuries**

Alongside itinerant students and scholars, the growing regional importance of paper and manuscript production in the Maghrib also means that Ibāḍīs and their contemporaries had increasing access to raw materials for the production and transmission of written works. Scholarship on paper production the medieval period has tended to focus on the western Maghrib and al-Andalus. More specifically, the Almohad period (12th-13th centuries) witnessed a growth in the local production of paper and bindings. Modern historians often cite Almohad-era Fes and Marrakesh, for example, as centers for

[233] On whom see: Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:258–59.
[234] al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 486.
[235] Ibid.

the production of paper and manuscripts.[236] As had been the case in the 11th and 12th centuries and earlier, Northern African cities and towns continued to serve as important producers of leather, the presumed material of choice for bindings. In the *Ṭabaqāt*, as in the works of his predecessors, references to sheep and goats are numerous. Citing a letter from the mid-twelfth century, Goitein also noted that leather bindings would often be produced in the Maghrib for commercial export to Egypt.[237] The raw material for the bindings, accordingly, would have been available at home.

As for the paper itself, however, no direct evidence survives for paper production by Ibāḍī communities of southern Wārjalān, southern Ifrīqiyā, Jarba, or the Jabal Nafūsa. Considering the quantities of water necessary for its production and the scarcity of that resource in the centers of Ibāḍī learning, they must have obtained paper primarily through trade. Trade with and study in the Northern African littoral, including cities like Tunis and Tripoli, would have served as opportunities for the buying books and for the purchase of paper. The previous chapter noted that the Geniza papers describe the exportation of paper from Egypt to Tunisia in the 12th century. Finally, the regular travel of Ibāḍīs eastward through Alexandria, Cairo, and beyond for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage would also have offered occasions for buying paper or copied manuscripts directly from their places of production.[238] Diplomatic correspondence between the Iberian Peninsula and Northern African cities in the 13th century held at the Archive of the Crown of Aragon speak to the quality of Maghribi and

[236] E.g. see references compiled in Ḥasan Ḥusnī Abd al-Wahhāb, "al-Bardī wa-al-raqq wa-al-kāghid fī Ifrīqīyā al-Tūnisīya," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiya* 2 (1956): 34–45; Ferhat, "Le livre instrument de savoir et objet de commerce dans le Maghreb médiéval."

[237] Goitein, Mediterranean Society, V.1, 112.

[238] The ḥajj was also a rare chance for medieval-era Maghribi and Mashriqi Ibāḍīs to meet. See Djaabiri, Farhat, *ʿAlāqāt ʿumān bi-shimāl Ifrīqiyā.* Muscat: al-Maṭābiʿ al-ʿĀlimiyya, 1991)

Egyptian paper produced during al-Darjīnī's lifetime.[239] In addition, the end of the 13th century would see the establishment of the Hafsid dynasty and its diplomatic relationship with the Italian city-states, which were quickly becoming the most important producers and traders of paper in the central Mediterranean.[240]

Whatever the source of the paper, manuscripts continued to be copied, collated, and bound locally. One especially detailed description in the *Ṭabaqāt* reflects the importance of small-scale, local production of manuscripts. In his description of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm (d.1203), son of the famous Wārjalānī scholar Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī (d.1175),[241] Darjīnī wrote:

> اقام سبعة اعوام ملازما داره لا ينصرف فكان متى زاره احد من الزوار وجده اما ينسخ واما يدرس واما يقابل واما يبرئى الاقلام واما يطبخ الحبر واما يسفر كتابا لا يعدل هن هذا الفن الى ما سواه الا ان قام لاداء فريضة

> He spent seven years in his home and did not leave. When a visitor would come to see him, he would find [Abū Isḥāq] either copying [manuscripts], studying, collating, fashioning reed pens, cooking ink, or binding a book. He did not turn away from this art for anything except to carry out a religious obligation.[242]

This passage deserves note both because it represents one of the few explicit descriptions of bookbinding activities in the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition and because it suggests that individuals sometimes prepared all of the components of manuscript books for themselves. Sufi contemporaries in the Maghrib also carried out the process of copying and binding on their own, in part for the sake of the transmission of knowledge, but also because of the association of copying and binding with asceticism.[243] The growing reliance upon written sources by Ibāḍī authors represented the local

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[239] Oriol Valls i Subirà, *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia* (Amsterdam: Paper Publication Society, 1970), 11–12.
[240] Even in the Almohad-era the principalities of the North African littoral had already been trading with the Italian city-states. See Fierro, "The Almohads and Hafsids."
[241] Al-Darjīnī notes that Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf was also well known for copying (Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt, 492).
[242] Al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 492.
[243] Ferhat, "Le livre instrument de savoir et objet de commerce dans le Maghreb médiéval," 56.

impact of a regional transition to the production, trade in, and use of paper for manuscripts in the Maghrib.

**Formalizing the *ʿAzzāba* and the Network**

Modern historians have relied on al-Darjīnī as a kind of glossary for understanding the *ʿazzāba* system since its 'foundation' under Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr in the 11th century.[244] But the *Ṭabaqāt* does not describe this system as it had existed since the 11th century under Abū ʿAbdallāh. Instead speaks to the written formalization of this system in the 13th century. This does not mean, of course, that nothing like the *ʿazzāba* existed prior to the time of al-Darjīnī, as the two previous chapters have noted multiple references to *ʿazzāba* in the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the *Siyar al-Wisyānī.* Instead, the formalization of the *ʿazzāba* system as depicted in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* represents only one part of a broader trend toward the written formalization of various aspects of the Ibāḍī community in the late 12th and 13th centuries.

The structure of the second part of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* reflects the formalization of the *ʿazzāba* and an expanded body of written materials from which scholars could draw. Much more than its prosopographical predecessors, this portion of the work neatly fits the model of other *ṭabaqāt* works, and more broadly the genre that historians have called the "biographical dictionary," in which the work is divided into lists of individuals arranged chronologically in generations of fifty years.[245] Al-

[244] Most modern historians have drawn from the detailed study by Farhat Djaabiri, whose description of the *ʿazzāba* blends the account of al-Darjīnī with early modern and contemporary (20th century) practice in the cities of the Mzab valley. See Djaabiri, *Niẓām al-ʿazzāba ʿind al-ibāḍiyya bi-jarba* (*L'Organisation des azzaba chez les ibadhites de Jerba*).
[245] The classic study of the genre remains: Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe [1]"; Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe [2]"; Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe [3]." For a more recent assessment see Jacques, "Arabic Islamic Prosopography: The Tabaqat Genre."

Darjīnī's choice of this genre, as he explicitly stated in his introduction to the first part of the work, came from his predecessor Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī. More generally, however, the choice of this structure by a 13th-century historian in the Maghrib suggests that similar works from the East had made their way to Northern Africa by then.[246] Al-Darjīnī's choice to present a formalized explanation of the *ʿazzāba* system, his use of written sources by Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī authors, and his decision to structure the work as a *ṭabaqāt*, all suggest that the compiler was familiar with similar works by Sunnī and Sufi authors.

In doing so, al-Darjīnī continued the process of establishing the boundaries of the Ibāḍī community in Northern Africa, carefully revising his predecessors' works and adapting them to fit new models. His arrangement of scholars into *ṭabaqāt* helped provide a solid chronological framework for the written prosopographical network begun in the 11th century. This structure reinforced the links between individuals already present in the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*—regardless of whether they actually interacted or not—by placing them alongside one another in time. What mattered now was not their mere existence, but their juxtaposition within the text alongside other Maghribi Ibāḍīs. Through its chronological and spatial arrangement, the *Ṭabaqāt* solidified the network of Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa across time.

Two remaining features of the *Ṭabaqāt* also deserve attention for understanding the structure of this written network and the context from which it emerged. First, the paucity of information on

[246] On other biographical collections from the Early and Middle Islamic Periods see: Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur; a Study in Medieval Islamic Social History*; Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*; Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography the Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of Al-Ma'mūn*; Jacques, *Authority, Conflict, and the Transmission of Diversity in Medieval Islamic Law*; Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*.

the earliest generations of Ibāḍīs in the east (and the Maghrib) is remarkable. Al-Darjīnī notes that the lives and stories associated with the Prophet Muḥammad, the Companions, and the Followers are so well known that he had little need to mention them*:*

> فالذين اجتمعت عليهم الخمسون الاولى من المائة الاولى هم اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وفضيلتهم واسماؤهم ومزاياهم أشهر من ان نحتاج الى تعدادهم...

> The first fifty [individuals] from the first one hundred whom I grouped together are the Companions of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him. Their virtue[,]...their names, and their merits are so famous that we need not list them.[247]

This very well may have been the case, especially if al-Darjīnī wrote the work for an eastern audience. Notably, however, he did choose to include a handful of figures from the Mashriq adopted by the later Ibāḍī tradition, what Wilkinson has called 'proto' Ibāḍīs, in the first and second *ṭabaqāt*.[248] This decision also links the early generations of Ibāḍī scholars in the Maghrib to the eastern community, a process that the later Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition would complete.[249]

The second remaining feature of the *Ṭabaqāt*, as of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* before it, is the way in which al-Darjīnī brought the work up to date by adding succeeding generations of scholars from the late 12th and early 13th centuries. In discussing these more recent figures, al-Darjīnī often relies often on contemporary oral sources.[250] This is especially true of the history of his own family: his father, grandfather, and other ancestors all enjoy long entries in the *Ṭabaqāt*.[251]

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[247] al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 6.

[248] The historiographical category of 'proto-Ibāḍī' is one developed by Wilkinson in the first few chapters of his study of the origins of Ibāḍī Islam in the Islamic East. See "Proto-Ibāḍīs" in Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*, 161–83.

[249] On this see "Chapter 4: Retroactive Networks" and "Chapter 5: The End of a Medieval Tradition."

[250] This is especially true of the 11th *ṭabaqa*, covering 500-550. See *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 457-523.

[251] *Ibid,* 513-522.

These final chapters also raise questions about what they leave out. Several possible explanations exist for the focus on the communities west of Jarba, to the exclusion of the scholars of that island and of the Jabal Nafūsa. T. Lewicki, who observed this regional focus of the latter part of the *Ṭabaqāt*, suggested that it represented al-Darjīnī's parochial interests and that these passages had only 'local' importance.[252] Certainly, the inclusion of al-Darjīnī's family and fellow tribesmen from the Jarīd, Wārjalān and southern Ifrīqiyā would have tended to commemorate and to honor these individuals by placing them alongside the earlier generations of Ibāḍī scholars from throughout the Maghrib. In addition, however, this focus on this western region also relates closely to important changes in the political and religious landscape there in the 12th and 13th centuries.

By the mid-12th century, the arrival of the Almohads combined with an attack by an Italian confederation on the city of Mahdiyya had ousted the Normans from the coastal towns of Ifrīqiyā. Unlike the coast, however, the Zāb region, the Jarīd, Jarba and Tripolitania remained regular thorns in the side of the Almohads as they attempted to establish control over those regions. The Ibāḍīs, however, were not alone in their opposition to Almohad rule. Indeed, far more troubling to the Almohads in the 12th and 13th century were the Arabic-speaking tribes that had arrived in the mid-11th, many of whom allied with the remnants of the Almoravids in Northern Africa, the Banū Ghāniya.[253] Central and eastern Northern Africa in this period comprised a number of independent principalities or 'emirates,' as it would continue to do for the next century before the Hafsid successors to the

[252] For Lewicki's description of the work see his entry, 'al-Darjīnī,' in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd ed.).
[253] This especially chaotic period of Northeastern African history has been addressed recently in: Amar S. Baadj, *Saladin, the Almohads and the Banū Ghāniya: The Contest for North Africa (12th and 13th Centuries)* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2015).

Almohads succeeded in establishing some semblance of stability in the 14th century.[254] Especially symbolic for the Ibāḍī communities of the region was the final and complete destruction of the city of Sadrāta in the mid-13th century at the hands of the Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya and his allies. Likewise, the increasing interest on the part of the Ayyūbids of Egypt in the Libyan desert as well as in Tripolitania and its environs meant constant pressure on Ibāḍī communities in those regions. Pressed between these different competing forces, many Ibāḍī communities of the Zab region, the Jarīd, and Jabal Dummar took refuge in Jarba, the Nafūsa Mountains, as well as Arīgh and the oases of the Mzab valley.

A concomitant result of these multiple points of pressure was either the migration or the 'Malikisation' of many of Northern Africa's Ibāḍī communities. As A. Amara has demonstrated, many Ibāḍī tribes of the Zāb region became Maliki in this period.[255] Al-Darjīnī himself described the presence of another important phenomenon in Northern African history, the arrival of Sufism in Ifrīqiyā. In one instance, he described the excitement surrounding the arrival of a Sufi shaykh, Abū al-Qāsim b. al-ʿAmūdī, and his students who had come to al-Darjīn from Tozeur.[256] The 12th and 13th centuries marked an especially important moment for the history of Sufism in the Maghrib, and its popularity and enthusiasm among the Ibāḍīs' northern contemporaries gradually spread to the heartlands of Ibāḍī Northern Africa. These centuries witnessed the acitivity of perhaps the three best-

[254] The classic image of increasingly centralized Hafsid power in the 14th and especially the 15th century belongs to the still unsurpassed: Robert Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XVième siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1940). More recently, Ramzi Rouighi offered a critique of this image suggesting that the 'emirate' corresponded more to a historiographical, rather than a political reality: Ramzi Rouighi, *The Making of a Mediterranean Empire: Ifriqiya and Its Andalus, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
[255] Amara, "Entre le massif de l'Aurès et les oasis : apparition, évolution et disparition des communautés ibâḍites du Zâb (VIIIe-XIVe siècle)."
[256] *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 516.

known figures of Maghribi Sufism: Abū Madyan Shuʿayb (d.1198),[257] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī (d.1240),[258] and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abdallāh al-Shādhilī (d.1258).[259] As both the political and religious landscapes changed, those who remained Ibāḍī would have suffered marginalization as political and religious dissidents in the eyes of the Bānū Ghāniya, their Arab allies or enemies, the Almohads, and their early Hafsid successors. In addition, the establishment of Arabic-speaking principalities and emirates also meant that Berber-speaking Ibāḍīs were gradually becoming a linguistic minority. Faced with political, religious, and linguistic marginalization, Ibāḍīs of the central Maghrib in the 12th and 13th centuries either became Maliki or relocated to one of the increasingly smaller number of islands in Ibāḍī archipelago.

These factors help explain the regional focus of the later chapters of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, but what about of the absence of Jarba and the Jabal Nafūsa? After all, al-Darjīnī wrote the work *on Jarba*. It is possible that he chose not to include these regions because he knew of efforts by one or more of his contemporaries to compose a work addressing the lives of recent generations of scholars. For example, al-Darjīnī's contemporary, Muqrīn b. Muḥammad al-Baghṭūrī (d. early 13th c.), was writing a prosopography of the scholars of Jabal Nafūsa around the same time.[260] This explanation remains unconvincing, since al-Darjīnī clearly drew from other written sources of near contemporaries. In

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[257] On whom see Abū Madyan, *The way of Abū Madyan: doctrinal and poetic works of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī (c. 509/1115-16-594/1198)*, ed. V. Cornell (Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic Texts Society, 1996).

[258] The scholarly and religious literature on Ibn al-ʿArabī is vaste, but on the temporal and geographic reach of his ideas see: Alexander D Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

[259] On the early career of al-Shādhilī see: Mohamed Mackeen, "The Rise of al-Shādhilī (d.656/1256)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 479–80.

[260] The work of prosopography attributed to al-Baghṭūrī was published as an E-Book under the title: *Siyar mashāyikh nafūsa,* ed. Tawfīq ʿIyād al-Shuqrūnī (http://www.tawalt.com/wp-content/books/tawalt_books/siyar_nafousa/siyar_nafousa.pdf [accessed on 16 January 2016]).

addition, as a resident of Jarba he would have had plenty of potential oral sources for writing about the scholars of the island and the nearby Jabal Nafūsa.

Most likely, political and religious events in the west explain both the focus on a region where Ibāḍī communities were under threat of disappearance in the 12th and 13th centuries as well as the absence of anecdotes from two of the areas that remained Ibāḍī strongholds in al-Darjīnī's lifetime: Jarba and the Jabal Nafūsa. While the *Ṭabaqāt* may not explicitly reflect its predecessors' fear regarding the impending doom of the Ibāḍīs, it may have been responding to the disappearance of Ibāḍī communities in south-central Ifrīqiyā.

**The Structured Network**

Having considered how al-Darjīnī's *Ṭabaqāt* represented a move toward the formalization of the tradition and how that move reflected changes in the Maghrib of the 12th and 13th century, the chapter now turns to what an analysis of this revised and augmented written network of Ibāḍī scholars helps reveal about the author, his subjects, and the context in which he composed the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Just as the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* built upon the written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra* by adding new figures from the early 12th century, so too does the *Ṭabaqāt* expand the network to include scholars and personalities from the late 12th and early 13th centuries. In addition, al-Darjīnī restructured the network into a more defined chronological form. This had the effect of associating scholars from similar periods—regardless of their geographic proximity—who might previously not have been associated with one another. This structure permits visualization of two different forms of the same network. The first depicts instances of personal interaction similar to those in the previous two

chapters. The second visualizes the network according to al-Darjīnī's chronological restructuring of the network into fifty-year periods (*ṭabaqāt*).

Assuming that the first volume of al-Darjīnī's work amounted to little more than a revised version of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, one would expect that the network graph of that portion of the former text would look remarkably similar to the latter. Upon comparison, however, the visualizations of the two texts show significant differences (Figure 18 and 19).

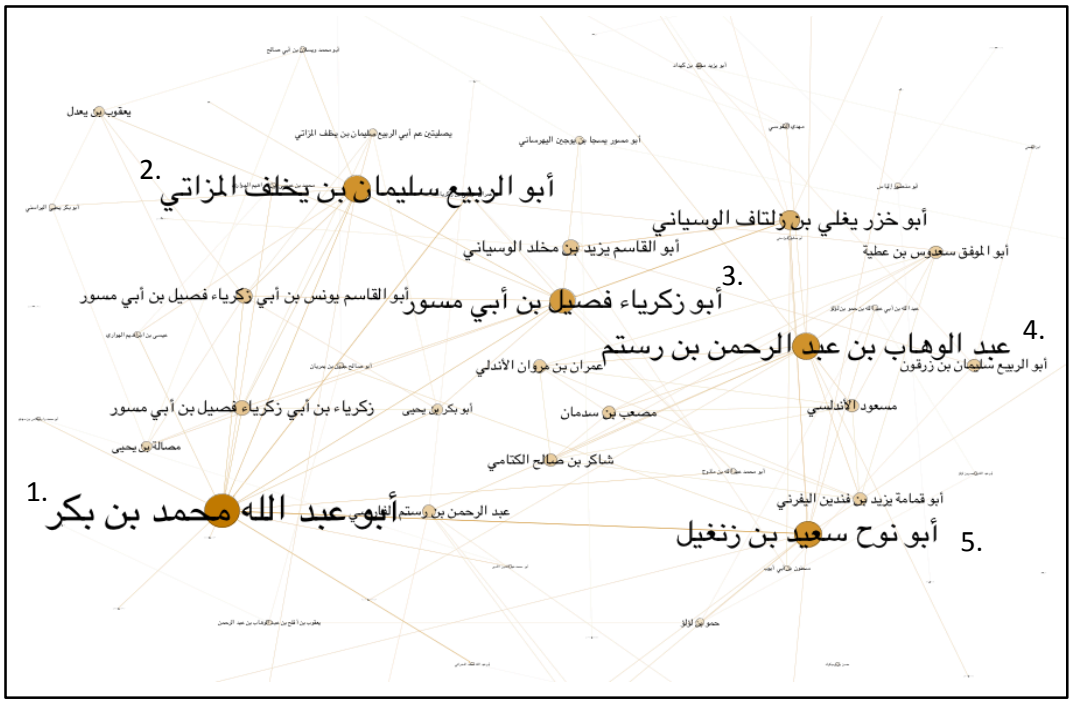



**Figure 18: The written network of the Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt (Pt.1): (1) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr; (2) Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī; (3) Abū Zakarīyāʾ Faṣīl b. Abī Miswar; (4) ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum; (5) Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl**


**Figure 19: The Written Network of the Kitāb al-sīra (Pt.1): (1) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr; (2) ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum; (3) Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl; (4) Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī; (5) Abū Zakarīyāʾ Faṣīl b. Abī Miswar**

A comparison of the two graphs demonstrates some of the ways in which al-Darjīnī restructured the written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra.* The five scholars with the highest degrees (no.1-5) remain important in al-Darjīnī's work. However, several other nodes now appear much larger. The explanation lies in al-Darjīnī's choice to limit the number of anecdotes found in the *Kitāb al-sīra.* That is, the first part of the *Ṭabaqāt* did not *expand* the written network in this first part, but rather simplified and contracted it by limiting the number of individuals in the network and omitting anecdotes from the entries even of prominent individuals. For example, the principal node in the *Kitāb al-sīra,* Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr (no.1), has a degree of 15 (rather than 21) in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Tables 1 and 2 below summarize the contents of both graphs.

| ***Kitāb al-sīra* (*Part 1*): Network Summary** | |
|---|---|
| **Total Number of Nodes** | 94 |
| **Total Number of Edges** | 129 |
| **Degree Range** | 1-21 |
| **Average Degree** | 1.362 |
| **Average Path Length** | 4.854 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Network Diameter** | 11 |

**Table 5: Network summary of the Kitāb al-sīra**

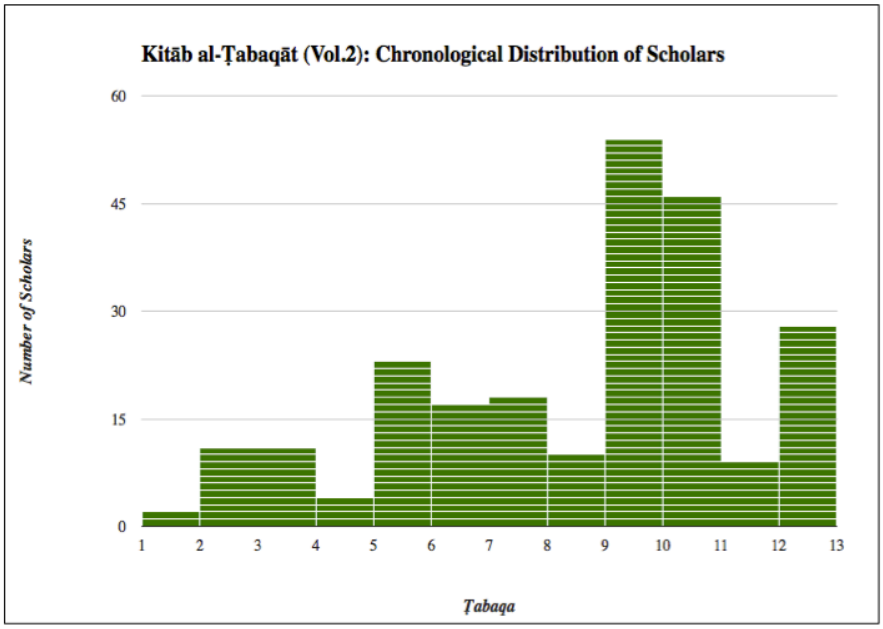
| ***Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* (*Part 1*): Network Summary** | |
|---|---|
| **Total Number of Nodes** | 87 |
| **Total Number of Edges** | 147 |
| **Degree Range** | 1-15 |
| **Average Degree** | 1.644 |
| **Average Path Length** | 3.18 |
| **Network Diameter** | 7 |

**Table 6: Network summary of the Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt**

While the number of total nodes decreased slightly, the number of edges between those nodes increased from **129** to **147.** By creating more edges between a smaller number of scholars, the *Ṭabaqāt* brought the individuals in the written network closer together. In addition, the degree range decreased from **21** to **15,** meaning that some previous connections between scholars were omitted. These two features of the *Ṭabaqāt* also had the effect of decreasing the average path length between any two given individuals. While the average degree remained below two links, the path length decreased from **4.854** to **3.18.** Between any two individual scholars in the written network, an average 'distance' of around three people separates them. This is remarkable when the chronological span (8$^{th}$ to 11$^{th}$ centuries) is taken into account. Finally, these three features meant that the overall network diameter (the greatest path between any two nodes) decreased significantly from **11** to **7.** Overall, al-Darjīnī's addition of new edges but subtraction of nodes resulted in a tightly-knit and clearly defined written network of scholars from the Rustamid period to the 11$^{th}$ century.

The second part of the *Ṭabaqāt* lends itself to a different approach to the written network due to al-Darjīnī's choice to arrange the scholars of that network into chronological blocks of fifty years (*ṭabaqāt*). Some of the scholars in this section appeared in the first part of the book and in those

instances al-Darjīnī chose simply to refer the reader to that portion of the work. As noted above, the information on the first few centuries overall is very scant and only in the 5th/11th century does the number of scholars increase substantially. The graph below (Figure 20) depicts the distribution of scholars by *ṭabaqa*.




| Ṭabaqa | Years (AH) |
|---|---|
| 1 | 0-50 |
| 2 | 50-100 |
| 3 | 100-150 |
| 4 | 150-200 |
| 5 | 200-250 |
| 6 | 250-300 |
| 7 | 300-350 |
| 8 | 350-400 |
| 9 | 400-450 |
| 10 | 450-500 |
| 11 | 500-550 |
| 12 | 550-600 |

**Figure 20: Chronological distribution of scholars in the Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt (Vol. 2)**

The ninth and tenth *ṭabaqa*s, corresponding to 400-500AH (mid-11th to mid-12th c. CE), are far better represented in the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*. These two or three generations of scholars represent the period following the fall of the Rustamids and the beginnings of the development of the *ʿazzāba* system. As discussed in the previous two chapters, this period corresponds to the genesis and growth of the genre of Ibāḍī prosopographical literature. The scholars of these generations, representing about 42% of the second part of the *Ṭabaqāt*, were the students of the generation of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr and his contemporaries (Figure 21).

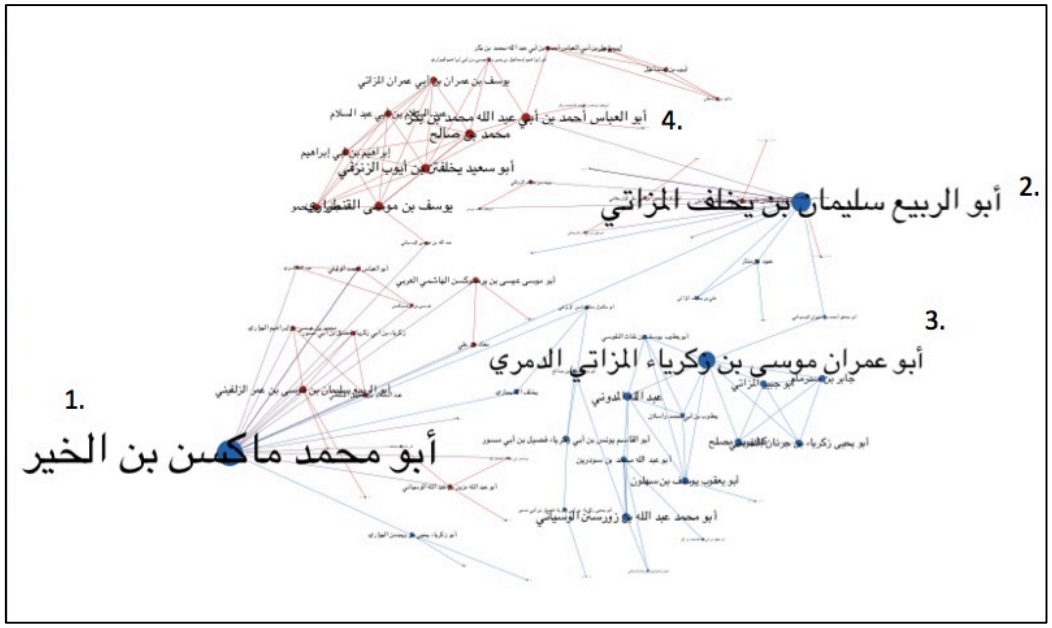



**Figure 21: The written network of the 9th and 10th ṭabaqas (400-500AH/11th and 12th c. CE): (1) Abū Muḥammad Māksin b. al-Khayr; (2) Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī; (3) Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Zakarīyāʾ al-Mazātī al-Dimmarī; (4) Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿ**

The most prominent figures of these generations are in some ways surprising. The scholar with the highest degree, Abū Muḥammad Māksin b. al-Khayr (no.1), is a well-known figure in Ibāḍī *siyar* and among the most famous of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr's students. Significantly, however, he left no written works behind and appears mainly as a *rāwī* in later sources. Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (no.2), who has consistently appeared as a well-connected node in the all the previous graphs, holds the second highest degree. His importance stems not from his literary output but rather from his connections to two generations of the mid-11$^{th}$ and mid-12$^{th}$ centuries and his serving as the principal oral source for large portions of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the *Siyar al-*

*Wisyānī*.[261] Abū ʻImrān Mūsā b. Zakarīyāʾ al-Mazātī (no.3), although known as one of the author's of the *Dīwān al-ʿazzāba*, likewise left no other written work behind.

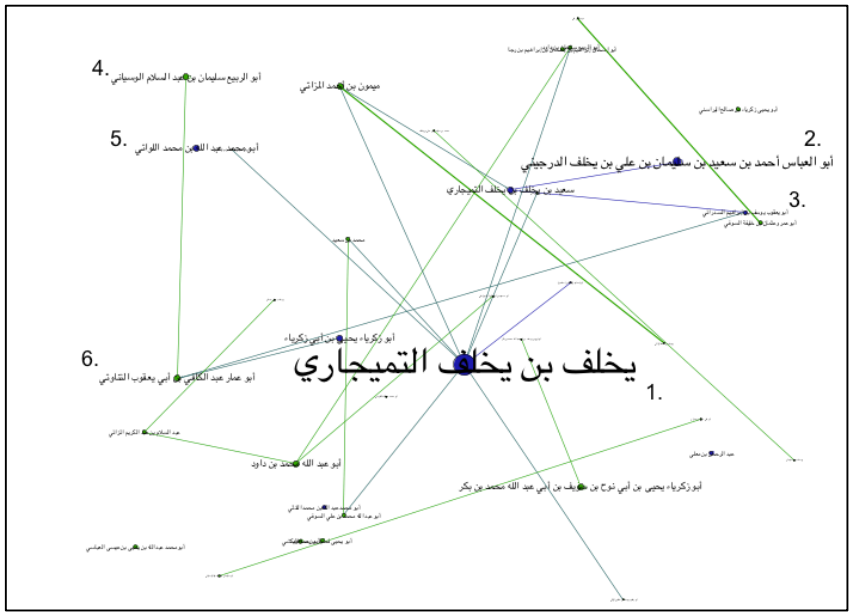



**Figure 22: Written network of the 11th and 12th ṭabaqās (mid-12th-13th c.) in the Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt (Vol.2)**

By striking contrast, the 11th and 12th *ṭabaqas* (mid 12th – to mid-13th c.) represent less than 16% of the sum total of scholars in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a whole (Figure 22). Although some of the most famous authors of written works of *siyar,* theology, and *fiqh* lived in this period,[262] their representation and role in al-Darjīnī's work is marginal. Indeed, the scholar with the highest degree in this part of the written network is not a famous Ibāḍī author but rather Yakhlaf b. Yakhlaf al-Tamījārī (no.1), al-Darjīnī's ancestor. Al-Darjīnī himself (no.2), by extension, also appears in the network. Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī (no.3), despite his marginal role in the network, authored no fewer than

[261] There are a handful of works attributed to Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān al-Mazātī. See: Ennami, "A Description of New Ibadi Manuscripts from North Africa."

[262] E.g., this period witnessed the composition of most of the texts studied by Cuperly in Cuperly, *Introduction à l'étude de l'ibāḍisme et de sa théologie*, 47–167.

twelve works, including two of the most important works of medieval Ibāḍī *fiqh* in the Maghrib: *Kitāb al-ʿadl wa-inṣāf* and *Kitāb al-dalīl wa l-burhān*. In addition, he wrote a *tafsīr* and compiled the *Musnad* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, the principal Ibāḍī collection of *ḥadīth* traditions. Similarly, Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān al-Wisyānī (no.4) and his principal source, Abū Muḥammad al-Lawwātī (no.5), appear only on the fringes of this part of the network despite al-Darjīnī's heavy reliance on the *Siyar* tradition attributed to those two scholars. Already noted as one of al-Darjīnī's sources and author of the work that served as the model for the *Ṭabaqāt*, Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī (no.6) likewise appears as a minor figure.

The marginal representation of the mid-12th and 13th centuries relates to the rapidly changing political and religious landscapes in the region. Indeed, the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* reflects the numerical marginalization of Ibāḍī communities in the 12th and 13th centuries as they found themselves caught in the middle of different political forces—the Almohads, the Bānū Ghāniya, various Arabic-speaking factions, and even the Ayyūbids—vying for power in different regions.[263] As a result, both al-Darjīnī and his contemporary al-Baghṭūrī produced works focused heavily on specific regions. The regional and temporal foci of these works reflect the fracturing of the Ibāḍī archipelago.

**Conclusion**

The composition of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* in the 13th century marked the formalization of a tradition of Ibāḍī prosopography begun in the 11th and 12th centuries. Whereas its two major

[263] Baadj, *Saladin, the Almohads and the Banū Ghāniya: The Contest for North Africa* (*12th and 13th Centuries*).

predecessors, the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*, represented the merging of separate collections of traditions and anecdotes about Ibāḍī scholars from throughout the Maghrib, the *Ṭabaqāt* offered something at once new and familiar. While familiar in the sense that many of the same stories, characters, and anecdotes had appeared in the works of his predecessors, al-Darjīnī's work marked a break from the previous tradition in that it formalized the chronology of the anecdotes, the language in which they were presented, and the structure of the community whose principal actors they described, the *ʿazzāba*.

Two important changes in the Ibāḍī landscape of the Maghrib account for the appearance of the *Ṭabaqāt*. The 12th and 13th centuries witnessed an important growth in the production and circulation of manuscript books on paper. This translated into larger collections of written knowledge becoming available to a scholar like al-Darjīnī or other Ibāḍīs who studied not only in Ibāḍī centers of learning but also in more cosmopolitan settings like Tunis, Qayrawān, and Tripoli. Al-Darjīnī's work reflects both the material and ideological impact of this growth in paper book production in its reliance on written Ibāḍī and, to a lesser extent, non-Ibāḍī works. In addition, this use of written works separates the *Ṭabaqāt* from its predecessors and marks a decisive change in the history of the Maghribi Ibāḍī communities.

The remarkable changes to the political and religious landscapes of the Maghreb during the 12th and 13th centuries also laid the groundwork for the appearance of a work like the *Ṭabaqāt*, in addition to helping explain its regional foci in latter chapters. The final fall of Sadrāta, the flight of Ibāḍī communities to the oases of the Sahara, and the growing impact of Sunnism (including Sufism) in the Zāb and the Jarīd all contributed to the numerical and geographical decline of Ibāḍism. If al-

Darjīnī chose to write about the scholars of these areas, he was likely attempting to preserve the memory of some of the greatest scholars of his recent past and to chronicle the history of Ibāḍī communities of those regions that were well on their way to extinction by his own lifetime.

# Chapter 4:
# The Retroactive Network and Manuscript Libraries

Al-Barrādī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir* and the Ibāḍī communities of the late 13th and 14th centuries

**Introduction**

In the second half of the 14th century the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition underwent a new transformation with the composition of Abū al-Qāsim al-Barrādī's (d. early 15th c.) *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt fī itmām mā akhalla bihi kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*.[264] While this work constitutes an important addition to the prosopographical corpus, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* also represents a much different approach to achieving the aims of the prosopographical tradition. Unlike its predecessors, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* did not present a collective history of the Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa comprising anecdotes and stories about its scholars and pious exemplars. Rather, al-Barrādī sought to universalize the history of the Ibāḍī community, establishing Ibāḍī intellectual and religious history as *the* narrative history of Islam and linking the earliest generations of Muslims in the eastern Islamic lands to the Maghribi Ibāḍī communities of later centuries. In order to do so, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* starts in the period of Islamic history that al-Darjīnī so carefully avoided: the beginning.

This chapter uses the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* to highlight two important features of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in the 14th century. The first regards the way in which the tradition aimed

[264] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *al-Jawāhir al-muntaqāt fī itmām mā akhalla bihi Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* [*Litho.*] (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Bārūniyya, 1884). It deserves mention that this is the only of the five works of prosopography from the corpus that has yet to appear in a modern printed edition. At the time of writing (early 2016), however, Cyrille Aillet and Said al-Khabbash were preparing an edited edition that takes the manuscript tradition into account.

to construct a 'retroactive' written network in which Maghribi Ibāḍīs joined *ex post facto* a long tradition of Islamic learning stretching back to the Prophet Muhammad and extending forward to the Rustamids. This retroactive network established the early Islamic credentials of the Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib, connecting them to a much broader history of Islam in the face of the changing religious landscape of the Maghrib in the 14th century. This, in turn, necessitated a much heavier reliance upon written works than had been the case for any of al-Barrādī's predecessors.

The second feature is that rather than bringing the work up to date by mentioning the scholars of the 13th and 14th centuries who followed al-Darjīnī, the manuscript tradition of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* included a section comprising a list of Ibāḍī books extant in the 14th century. This list, in a much longer version, also circulated independently of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. This speaks to the enduring importance of written works and provides a glimpse into the Ibāḍī manuscript libraries of the 14th century, including an indication of the circulation of eastern Ibāḍī works in the Maghrib. Overall, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* marks a culmination of the process of extension of the written network of Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib, connecting it to the east on both the narrative and material levels.

**The Purpose of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir***

Al-Barrādī wastes little time on introductions. In the prosopographical tradition, he begins by noting what he has seen of his predecessors' works and how that has provided the impetus for his own:

فاني رايت كتاب الطبقات ضالة عن ناشدوها ومنشدوها ومنهلا عذبا قد اعوز واردوها وموردوها[265] مع انه فيما اشتمل عليه من غرائب الاخبار وعجائب مناقب السلف الاخيار قد صار كالوسطى في العقد وفيما اودع من الخطب البريعة ...وقد كنت كلّفت به منذ تراء لى علمه ونهى الىّ علمه فما وقفت فيه على ام الا على نسخة ترمد العين وتورث القلب الخطأ والغين حتى يسر الله نسخة اخرى اشبه قليلا من الاولى فتصفحت عند ذلك صفحاته وتنشقت نفحاته فوجدته كما تصفه الالسن وفيه ما تشتهيه الانفس وتلذ الاعين الا انه اغفل عن ذكر الصدر الاول واخل بذكر ما عليه المعوّل وانما له حظ من الخملـ[ـة] واستغنا به عن التفصيل بالجملـ[ـة] واشد بالحديثين من بعيد اليه موذنا وزعم ان شهرته مغنية عن الدلالة عليه...[266]

I found that the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* went astray from its requester and its objective, like a sweet watering hole that lacks both its animal and its water. But since it contains many strange accounts and wonderful virtues of the most upright and pious predecessors, it has become like the centerpiece of a necklace and more trusted than distinguished sermons....I occupied myself with it since I learned of its existence but I did not find an exemplar save a copy that makes the eye sore and makes the heart come into error or fog. This until God provided [me with] another copy [that was] a bit clearer than the first. So I flipped through its pages and breathed in its odors and found it as people [lit. tongues] speak of it, containing what souls desire and eyes delight in, except that he neglected to mention the first core [generation] and failed to mention what was reliable. Instead, he included many obscure things and left out particulars entirely. He clung to tradents, relating from those who were distant from him and claimed that their renown made it possible to dispense with evidence [for the veracity of their accounts].

As implied here—and, indeed, in the title of the work itself ("*The Book of Choice Pearls in Completing What the Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt Neglected*")—al-Barrādī had taken a good look at the work of al-Darjīnī and found it sorely lacking. Especially egregious in his eyes had been al-Darjīnī's failure to include the lives of the Prophet Muhammad and the Companions. As al-Darjīnī's critic but also as a loyal coreligionist, al-Barrādī suggests that the historical context in which the former wrote the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* helps excuse this oversight:

[265] A curious morphological feature of both the lithograph edition of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* and its manuscript tradition was the inclusion of an extra *wāw* in many of these words in the opening lines (e.g.ناشدوها ومنشدوها ). I have reproduced them here as they appear in the lithograph.

[266] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*, 3.

ثم انه قد استبان لي بعين البصيرة في الشيخ أبي العباس أحمد ابن سعيد رضى الله عنه امر قد قام في ذلك عذره وناجتني مروءتى ببعض أحواله حتى انكشف لي سرّه وهو كونه بين ظهرانى المنتقدين المحتقدين من المخالفين وتحفظه من بغى الحاسدين والحاضرين المؤتلفين فمن ذلك اغفل والله أعلم عن ذكر الفتن وعدا عن تلك المحن...[267]

Through the eye of discernment, a certain thing became clear to me about Shaykh Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd—may God be pleased with him—that excused him [from his exclusion of the first generation of Muslims]. My faculties aided me with regard to some of his [al-Darjīnī's] circumstances until his secret became clear to me: that he was in the midst of the dissenters, [who were] spiteful and critical, and his wariness of the evil of the envious and united contemporaries. For this reason, he neglected—and God knows best—to mention the discord [of the community] and he passed over those tribulations...

In a later section, al-Barrādī also decided to discuss the circumstances in which al-Darjīnī had been asked to compose the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*:

ذكر لى بعض العزابة ان سبب تاليف ابى العباس هذا الكتاب لما وصل الحاج عيسى بن زكريا من بلاد عمان بما معه من الكتب التي ورد بها ارض المغرب...فكان مما رغب اليه فيه اخوانه ان قالوا له وجمعوا لنا كتابا يتضمن سير اوائلنا ومناقب اسلافنا من اهل المغرب...فشاور من بجربة يومئذ من العزابة والفقهاء ... فنظروا في كتاب الشيخ ابى زكريا يحيى بن ابى بكر فوجدوه مخلا ببعض التفصيل [قاصرا][268] دون امد التحصيل مع ان لسان البربرية ورد الفاظه موارد التكليف وقلة تحفظه على قوانين العربية ادخل ببعض معانيه مجاهل التعسف فاهتموا بتصنيف كتاب يشتمل على سير الدولة الرستمية ومناقب الاسلاف كما طلب ذلك اليهم فلم يروا اهلا لهذا التصنيف غير ابي العباس...والله اعلم ان وصل الكتاب عمان ام لا [269]

One of the *ʿazzāba* told me the reason for Abū al-ʿAbbās' composition of this book. When al-Ḥājj ʿAysā b. Zakarīyā arrived in the Maghrib from Oman with the books he had brought[,]...among the things his brothers [in Oman] told him they desired of him was that he [say],[270] 'Compile for us a book containing the accounts of our earliest predecessors and the virtues of our pious forbearers among the people of the Maghrib.'...And so the *ʿazzāba* and jurists of Jarba of that time deliberated...and they initially thought of the book of Shaykh Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr [al-Wārjalānī] but found it missing some detail and falling short of the full extent of learning, together with the terms of the Berber tongue [that] appeared in troubling places and the insufficiency of his attention to the rules of Arabic, with solecisms having entered into his expressions. So they decided to commission the writing of a book that would include the stories of the Rustamid [Imamate] and the virtues of the pious forebears as had been requested of them. They saw no person [better] for this composition that Abū al-ʿAbbās...[.] And God knows if the book made it to Oman or not.

[267] Ibid., 3–4.

[268] The script of the lithograph edition is unclear at this point and several variations of this passage exist in the manuscript tradition.

[269] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*, 13.

[270] Although the phrasing of the Arabic in this sentence is a bit confusing, the meaning is clear.

In addition to suggesting a provenance for Ibāḍī books from east in the Maghrib, this passage also offers an explanation for al-Darjīnī's choice of omitting the biographies of the earliest generations of Ibāḍīs from the east. In any event, al-Barrādī remained dissatisfied and set out to fill in the gap left by the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*. Yet while historians have sometimes viewed the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* as a 'complement'[271] or 'supplement'[272] to the work of al-Darjīnī, the structure of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* departs significantly from both that work and previous works of Ibāḍī prosopography. Aside from al-Barrādī's presenting his work as a complement to the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* shares little with its predecessor. Rather than attempt to present the lives of the earliest generations of Muslims in anecdotes or individual biographies organized by chronology, geographic region, or 50-year *ṭabaqāt*, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* offers what by the 14th century had become a standard universal history of the early era of Islam—with the uniquely Maghribi Ibāḍī feature of having this history culminate in the Rustamid dynasty of the 8th century.

As Roberto Rubinacci noted many decades ago, however, al-Barrādī's work also aimed at critiquing the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* and subjecting it to analysis. In his study of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, Rubinacci summarized al-Barrādī's principal critiques of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*:

> (1) Omission of the historical traditions from the beginnings of Islam; (2) lacunae due to the author's [al-Darjīnī] having neglected to report well-established facts around which their was only a little nebulosity; (3) lack of details since [al-Darjīnī] only wanted to give an overview; (4) use of unreliable traditions.[273]

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[271] Roberto Rubinacci, "Al-Barrādī," *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2015).
[272] Adam Gaiser, "al-Barrādī, Abū l-Faḍl Abū l-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm," *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, Online 2015. [accessed 15 December 2015]
[273] "(1) omissione della trattazione storica degli inizi dell'Islām; (2) lacune dovute all'aver l'autore tralasciato di riportar fatti bene assodati intorno a cui v'era solo un po' di nebulosità; (3) mancanza di particolari per aver l'autore voluto limitarsi a dare una visione d'insieme; (4) uso di tradizioni poco attendibili, " Rubinacci, "Il 'Kitāb al-Jawāhir' di al-Barrādī," 98.

In other words, al-Barrādī criticizes al-Darjīnī for not having written a completely different kind of book. The later writer, looking back on his coreligionist of the 13th century, was unable to understand why al-Darjīnī had not composed a history of Islam that would conform to the standards and serve the interests of the Ibāḍī communities of Northern Africa in the 14th century. The use of unreliable traditions, the lack of detail, and similar critiques he offered came from al-Barrādī's background as a theologian and jurist.[274] Nowhere in the work is this more apparent than in the first few pages, where al-Barrādī quotes the opening passages of al-Darjīnī's work phrase by phrase, offering an exegesis of the latter's word choices and quotations from the Quran.[275] Indeed, these opening paragraphs along with the concluding section of the work, which offers a theological discussion of death (*fī dhikr al-mawt wa-aḥwālih*),[276] exemplifies al-Barrādī's background as a theologian, rather than a historian or specialist in *siyar*.

Like those prosopographies before the *Kitāb al-jawāhir,* however, these critiques also emerged out of the context in which al-Barrādī wrote and the place of Ibāḍī communities vis-à-vis their Maliki counterparts in the 14th century. Just as al-Barrādī understood al-Darjīnī to have been writing in a period of change and struggle among different religious groups, al-Barrādī also lived in a time of great transformation. By the time he composed his *Kitāb al-jawāhir,* the Ibāḍī communities of Ifrīqiyā lived in a much different religious and political landscape than they had in al-Darjīnī's time. Al-Darjīnī had already noted the earlier destruction of Sadrāta, the expansion of Sunni Islam in the traditional

[274] On al-Barrādī's written legacy see: Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 1:72–77.
[275] Rubinacci, "Il 'Kitāb al-Jawāhir' di al-Barrādī," 5.
[276] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*, 21–39.

Ibāḍī strongholds of the Jarīd and southern Ifrīqiyā, and attacks on communities that still remained in those areas.[277]

By al-Barrādī's time in the 14th century, the empire of the Almohads had already fractured into numerous different principalities but the Ibāḍīs had already lost their traditional strongholds in the region. Much of southern Ifrīqiyā had embraced both Arabic and Sunnism in one form or another, whether as a mode of the Almoravid-allied opposition to the Almohads or the steady spread of Sufism in the region.[278] Ibāḍīs, meanwhile, were driven further into the geographic pockets of the Ibāḍī archipelago, now concentrated in Jarba and the Jabal Nafūsa, with smaller communities still scattered throughout what is today south-central Algeria in and around the Mzab valley and Arīgh (*Wādī rīgh*), where al-Barrādī himself spent some time. Throughout the late 13th and 14th centuries, the old strongholds of Ibāḍism in the Zāb and the Jarīd had served as theaters for the struggle for power in the region between the late Almohad and early Hafsid rulers, the remnants of the Banū Ghāniya, and the various Arabic and Berber-speaking tribes with whom they allied or fought. After a failed attempt to conquer the island of Jarba by the (later) Hafsid *amīr* Ibn al-Liḥyānī, the island did eventually come under Hafsid control.[279] Either at the end of al-Barrādī's lifetime or shortly thereafter, even the island of Jarba would see efforts by the Hafsid prince Abū al-Fāris to suppress Ibāḍism on the island and convert its inhabitants to Sunni Islam[280]—a slow but steady process that would continue well into the

[277] See discussion above in Chapter 3.
[278] On the transition to the Hafsid era in Ifrīqiyā see Fierro, "The Almohads and Hafsids." See also "The End of the Banū Ghāniya and the Transition to Hafsid Rule in Ifrīqiyā" in Baadj, *Saladin, the Almohads and the Banū Ghāniya: The Contest for North Africa* (*12th and 13th Centuries*), 167–73.
[279] An account was given in al-Tijānī's (d.14th c.) *Riḥla,* see: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tijānī, *Riḥlat al-Tijānī* (Tunis, 1981), beginning on p. 121.
[280] Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XVième siècle*, 215.

early modern period.[281] It deserves note in this regard that the first non-Ibāḍī book to be referenced in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* was al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*.[282] Strikingly symbolic of these new Sunni incursions, the Hafsid period also witnessed the reconstruction of the Roman-era bridge connecting the island to the mainland.[283]

In addition to the spread of Maliki Islam in Ifrīqiyā and the political dominance of Sunni leaders throughout the region, Ibāḍism also faced strong competition from the increasing influence of Sufism in the region. Indeed Malikism and Sufism had long been combined in the same figures (whom Vincent Cornell called "Sūfī-uṣūlīs" in the far western Maghribi context[284]). Asceticism, mystical traditions, and saint veneration had long enjoyed popularity in the Maghrib, even among Ibāḍīs.[285] But the late 13th and 14th centuries brought even more momentum to the growing popularity of Sufism. As noted in the previous chapter, the 12th and 13th centuries were periods of growing formalization for the Sufi communities of the Maghrib. The appearance of key charismatic figures like Ibn al-ʿArābī and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī in this period, and more importantly, their legacy in the form of their followers during al-Barrādī's lifetime, helped catapult the popularity of Sufism in town and country.[286] The formalization of the *ṭarīqa*s and their patronage by Sunni rulers in the Maghrib in

[281] This process of 'Malikisation' continued throughout the early modern period. On two competing historiographical visions of how this happened, see Maryamī, *Ibāḍiyyat jarba khilāl al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth*; Sami Bargaoui, "(Ne plus) Être ibadhite dans la régence de Tunis: un processus de démarquage confessionnel à l'époque moderne," [forthcoming].
[282] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*, 9.
[283] Virginie Prevost, "La chaussée d'al-Qantara, pont entre Djerba et le continent," *Lettres Orientales* 11 (2006): 165–88.
[284] Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).
[285] These types of practices, normally dubbed Sufi, are common even today among Ibāḍī communities. E.g., Fatma Oussedik, "The Rites of the Baba Merzug: Diaspora, Ibadism, and Social Status in the Valley of the Mzab" in James McDougall and Judith Scheele, eds., *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 93–108. Aillet and Gilotte, "Sedrata: l'élaboration d'un lieu de mémoire."
[286] For references on these figures see Chapter 3, fn. 39-41.

the 14th century, especially the Marinids and the Hafsids, helped insure the success and continued spread of their activities.[287]

The increasing marginalization of Ibāḍī communities in Ifrīqiyā and the necessity of engaging with Maliki Sunni and Sufi communities, even in the traditional strongholds of Ibāḍism, called for a legitimizing history of the Ibāḍī tradition. The *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt,* whose author had failed to offer such a legitimizing narrative and had drawn from local traditions of (in al-Barrādī's eyes) doubtful authenticity, would not suffice. Circumstances demanded that a new work be written, one that would authenticate the historical narrative of the Ibāḍī community by connecting it to the very beginning of Islam itself and following it through to the establishment of the Ibāḍīs in Northern Africa.

**Al-Barrādī's Sources and Narrative**

By the 14th century, the corpus of written Ibāḍī works on the history of their communities, the broader history of Islam, and the religious sciences had also grown significantly. As noted at the end of the previous chapter, in addition to the formalization of the prosopographical manuscript tradition in the work of al-Darjīnī, the previous two centuries witnessed the appearance of major works of Ibāḍī theology and jurisprudence, and even the establishment of an Ibāḍī written ḥadīth tradition in the Maghrib in the form of Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Sadrātī's *Kitāb al-tartīb*. These increasingly large corpora of written sources served as the authority upon which al-Barrādī built his history of Islam. In addition to al-Darjīnī, among the many works explicitly quoted in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* were: (1) *al-Musnad,*

[287] See "The Rise of the *Ṭarīqa*s" in Alexander D Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History.* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 172–79.

attributed to Baṣran Imam al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb;[288] (2) Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Sadrātī's *al-ʿAdl wa ʿl-inṣāf;*[289] (3) chapters from the *Kitāb al-ashyākh;*[290] (4) the *Kitāb Abī Sufyān;*[291] (5) and the *Kitāb Sālim b. al-Ḥaṭiyyah al-Hilālī.*[292]

While his predecessors had sometimes relied on written works by Ibāḍī authors and occasionally employed the written works of non-Ibāḍīs, al-Barrādī's choice of presenting a narrative history of Islam led him to consult a far greater number of Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī books. Al-Barrādī was more than aware of the various written versions of key moments in the early history of Islam like the murder of Caliph ʿUthmān and the Battle of Ṣiffīn as presented in non-Ibāḍī histories. A major non-Ibāḍī source for the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* was a book attributed to Ibn Ṣaghīr (d. 9th c.) on the Rustamid Imamate.[293] When drawing comparisons with these (often unnamed) non-Ibāḍī traditions he also chose to alert his reading audience to his having acquired this source of information from "the books of the people of dissidence (*kutub ahl al-khilāf*)."[294]

Viewed as part of the prosopographical tradition into which al-Barrādī explicitly placed it, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* sought to do much more than present "from an Ibāḍī point of view the history of the early period of Islam."[295] Indeed, this kind of confession-specific version of the early Islamic narrative was by no means unique by the 14th century. The *Kitāb al-jawāhir* belongs to a widespread feature of medieval Islamic literatures, in which chains of transmission or authority stretching back to the

[288] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*, 21.
[289] Ibid., 70.
[290] Ibid., 34.
[291] Ibid., 47.
[292] Ibid., 51.
[293] For full lists of citations of both Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī work, see R. Rubinacci, "Il Kitāb al-ǧawāhir"
[294] E.g., *Jawāhir*, 94.
[295] Rubinacci, "al-Barrādī," Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition.

earliest Muslims lent legitimacy to various communities, from jurists and *ḥadīth* transmitters to Sufi shaykhs and Shi'i Imams.

At the same time, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* sought to do more than establish a chain of authority stretching back to the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Barrādī's work presents the establishment of the Ibāḍī community in Northern Africa as the culmination of the history of Islam. It is no coincidence that the narrative begins with the life of the Prophet Muhammad and ends with the *responsa* of the Rustamid Imams in Tāhart. While his prosopographical predecessors had presented a dense written network of scholars and pious individuals, connecting generations of Ibāḍīs across Northern Africa through anecdotes and biographies, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* retroactively linked that network to the earliest generations of Muslims. In doing so, al-Barrādī attempted to craft the history of the Ibāḍī community as the history of Islam itself.

**Barrādī's Book List**

The wide array of written sources—both Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī—cited in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* suggests much greater access to manuscript works in the 14th century than had been available previously. Like so many of his coreligionists, al-Barrādī did a lot of traveling in his early years as a student and scholar. Unlike those before him, however, he made a decision at some point to record the written works held in the various libraries he had visited. The resulting list of books, which belongs to the same manuscript tradition as the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, provides a glimpse into Ibāḍī manuscript libraries of the 14th century.

Although the introduction to the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* does not mention this list of books, it belonged to the manuscript tradition since at least the 16th century and may have been part of it from the beginning given its location in the text. In both the extant manuscript tradition and the lithograph editions of the 19th century, the list appears after the narrative of Islamic history and critiques of *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* and before a short section on the subject of death (*'fī dhikr al-mawt'*). The list remains remarkably consistent across the manuscript tradition, with its books listed in the same order and with only very minor variations in spelling (Table 7).

In addition to the extant manuscript tradition, a translated version of the list published by

**Book List in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* Manuscript Tradition (16th-19th c.)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Titles from Mashriq: | 23 |
| Number of Titles from Maghrib: | 36 (7 from Jabal Nafūsa and 29 from '*ahl al-maghrib*') |
| # of MSS which al-Barrādī says he saw: | 29 |
| # of MSS it is unclear if he saw: | 30 |
| Total Number of Titles: | 59 |

**Table 7: Book list based on 11 different manuscript copies dating from the 16th to 19th c., as well as the lithograph edition. For details on these copies see discussion below in Chapter 6, "The Ravages of Time" and "Appendix: List of Manuscripts."**

French orientalist Adolphe Motylinksi in his 1885 monograph, *Les livres de la secte abdahite*, includes many more titles.[296] Motylinski's manuscript version, dated *Rabīʿ al-thānī* 1188 [June-July 1774],[297] also appears to have circulated independently of the version of the list included in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* manuscript tradition. While the manuscript from which this list comes probably no longer exists,[298]

[296] Motylinski, "Bibliographie du Mzab. Les Livres de la secte abadhite," 6–20.

[297] "Fait dans la première décade du second mois de Rabia', l'an 1188 de l'hégire du Prophète (que Dieu répande sur lui ses bénédictions et lui accorde le salut)." Ibid, 19.

[298] If this manuscript was one of those that Motylinski owned personally, it would have been donated along with his other Ibāḍī manuscripts to the University of Algiers library at the end of the 19th century. Unfortunately, those manuscripts along with almost all of the other manuscripts in the library were destroyed in the fire of May 1962. The "Fond Motylinski" at the Archives d'Outre Mer in Aix-en-Provence contains no additional information on these manuscripts.

another copy of this longer list, including the same titles in the same order, was edited and published as an appendix in by ʿAmmār Ṭālibī in his 1978 edition of the Ibāḍī theological work entitled the *Kitāb al-mūjaz.*[299]

This latter version of the list came from a composite manuscript including the *Tabyīn afʿāl al-ʿibād* by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bakr (d. late 11th c.) held at the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.[300] Ṭālibī collated this manuscript, whose colophon notes it was copied from an exemplar in the author's hand,[301] with the version in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* manuscript tradition. He argued in his introduction to the edited text that the two versions, which he called 'the elongated' and 'abbreviated' versions, represent not two recensions of the same texts but rather two distinct compositions. In his view, al-Barrādī composed the longer version of the list after the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. Regardless of whether this was the case or whether an abbreviated form of the book list was added later on to the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* manuscript tradition, these two 'elongated' manuscript versions suggest that it circulated as an independent tradition.[302]

In both copies, an introduction precedes the list that identifies it as a response to a letter in which an unnamed individual has requested a list of books by Ibāḍīs:

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[299] ʿAmmār Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ al-khawārij al-kalāmiyya: al-mūjaz li-Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Ibāḍī*, vol. 2 (Algiers: Al-sharika al-waṭaniyya li-l nashr, 1978), 281–95.
[300] Dār al-Kutub MS *bāʾ* 21791. For description of the manuscript see Ibid., 2:282.
[301] "*intahā mā wajadtu bi khaṭṭ al-muʾallifi raḥimuhu allāh taʿālā,*" Ibid., 2:294.
[302] Elongated version found in the Dār al-Kutub manuscript version was edited and published separately, including some photos of that manuscript, in: Muḥammad Azb, *Dirāsah Fī Tārīkh Al-Ibāḍiyya Wa-ʿaqīdatihā* (Cairo: Dār al-Faḍīlah, 1994), 43–71.

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على نبيه محمد وآله أجمعين. سلام عليكم يا أخي يشتملكم بمن بين أيديكم ومن حواليكم من الطلبة والاخوان ورحمة الله وبركاته وبعد فان الرسول لم أفهم عنه مرادك في تسمية التواليف ولا في أسماء المؤلفين ولم يبلغني من ذلك إلا التفه النزر وأنت أوعى مني للتآليف...

> Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds and may peace and blessings be upon His prophet Muhammad and his entire family. May the peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you my brother, including those students and brothers who are around you. I did not understand from the messenger your request for a list of compositions nor for the names of the authors. I myself have not attained much more than a passing familiarity [with that subject] whereas you are much more aware of writings than I am...[303]

The large number of written Ibāḍī sources from which al-Barrādī drew in his *Kitāb al-jawāhir* certainly suggests an equally large number of manuscripts. In addition to these Ibāḍī works, of course, al-Barrādī also had access to non-Ibāḍī manuscripts, evidenced by his references to those titles throughout the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. This version of the list increases the number of titles substantially to 86.

| **Al-Barrādī Book List (by genre)** | |
|---|---|
| Prophetic Traditions (*ḥadīth*) | 3 |
| Theology and Doctrine (*kalām, sharīʿah, ʿaqāʾid*) | 21 |
| Jurisprudence/Law (*fiqh, furūʿ, uṣūl)* | 27 |
| Mixed Theology and Jurisprudence (*kalām wa-fiqh)* | 4 |
| History, Prosopography (*siyar, sīra)* | 9 |
| Responsa, Letters (*jawābāt, rasāʾil*) | 5 |
| Exegesis (*tafsīr*) | 3 |
| Morality/Praxis (*akhlāq, sulūk, farāʾiḍ, etc.*) | 5 |
| Poetry | 2 |
| Unknown/unclear | 7 |
| **TOTAL:** | **86** |

**Table 8: Al-Barrādī book list according to genre. Based on Ṭālibī (1978) and Motylinski (1885)**

[303] Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ al-khawārij al-kalāmiyya: al-mūjaz li-Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Ibāḍī*, 2:282–83; Gustave-Adolphe de Calassanti Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab Les livres de la secte abadhite.* (Alger: Impr. de l'Association ouvrière P. Fontana, 1885), 6, http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/23422334.html.

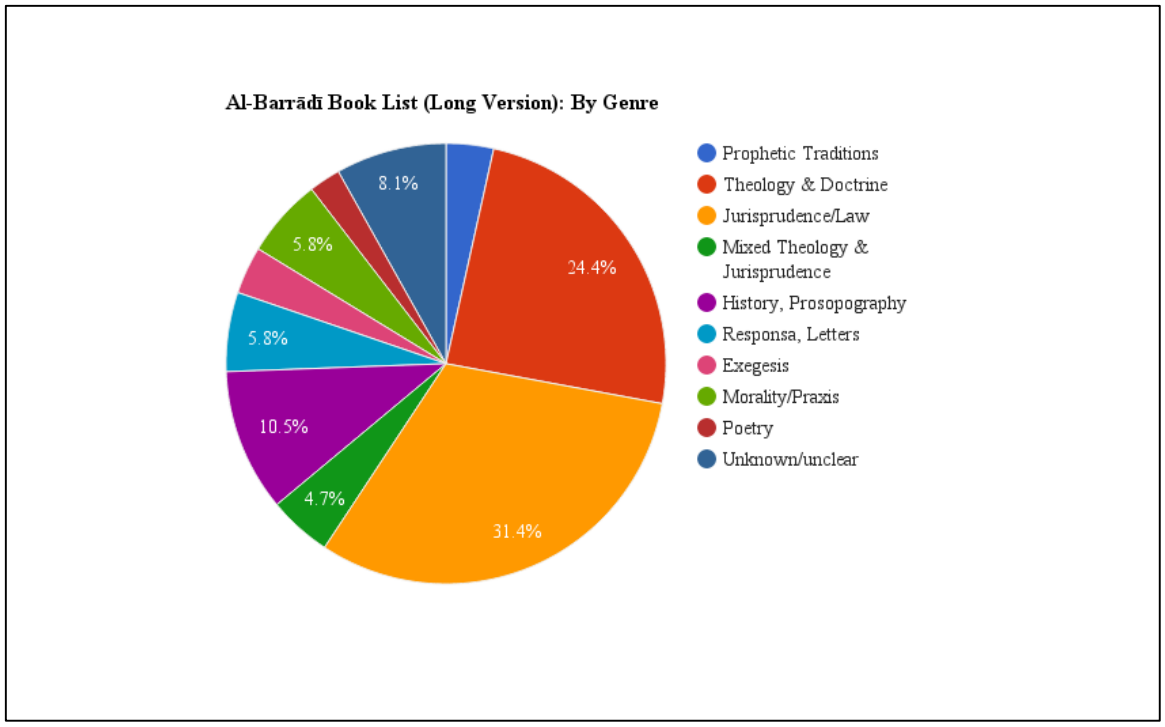


**Figure 23: Percentages by genre of works in al-Barrādī book list. Based on Ṭālibī (1978) and Motylinski (1885). Image created using Google Spreadsheets.**

Of course, the represented categories sometimes overlap and the books in question often includs material that blurs the lines between them.[304] In general, however, the genre distribution points to some interesting features of Ibāḍī manuscript collections in the 14th century (Figures 22 and 23). The clear dominance (52 titles or 59.5%) of works on law, theology, and doctrine points to the widespread use of these types of texts among Ibāḍī scholars. These constitute the staples of religious education, followed in importance by biographies and anecdotes about Ibāḍī scholars themselves (*āthār*) that make up the prosopographical tradition. The small number of works on exegesis (*tafsīr*) and prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) indicate the peripheral role these types of texts played in the

[304] For example, the well known work by al-Warjalānī entitled *al-Dalīl wa 'l-burhān* dealt with questions of both jurisprudence and theology; likewise, *responsa* literature—especially from the Rustamid Imams—dealt will a huge variety of topics. On the *responsa* of Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, see Aillet and Ḥasan, "The Legal Responsa Attributed to Aflaḥ B. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb (208-58/823-72). A Preliminary Study."

medieval Northern African Ibāḍī tradition up to the 14th century. Unlike their Sunni contemporaries, for example, medieval Ibāḍī scholars in the region did not make extensive use of codified *ḥadīth* in legal arguments.[305]

A comparison of this list with similar written lists of early modern and modern Ibāḍī family libraries could clarify the 'core curriculum' of Ibāḍī texts for both students and scholars over the *longue durée*, similar to the results of a recent study of texts in private West African libraries.[306] That a great number of the books in this list have been published by the Omani Ministry of Heritage or private Arabic-language publishers in Northern Africa is surely significant—to say nothing of many of them having been chosen by the Ibāḍī publishing houses of the 19th century as the works most deserving of publication.[307]

The list also communicates additional information about the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition, more specifically. First, al-Barrādī lists a work entitled the *Kitāb al-mashāyikh,* which he attributes to Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr and which the present study has referred to as the *Kitāb al-sīra*. This first work in the prosopographical corpus remained in circulation in a manuscript tradition independent of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, which of course also appears in the list. Furthermore, al-Barrādī notes that he only has only seen the second half of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, meaning that at least by the 14th century the manuscript tradition of the *Kitāb al-sīra* recognized at least two

[305] Wilkinson, "Ibadi Hadith: An Essay on Normalization."
[306] On a similar methodological approach to reconstructing a 'core curriculum,' see Hall and Stewart, "The Historic 'Core Curriculum' and the Book Market in Islamic West Africa," in Kräiti and Lydon, (eds.), *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa* (Brill, 2011), 109-174. See also the discussion of a sample from the Ibāḍī 'core curriculum' in Chapter 8, "The Orbits of Ibāḍī manuscripts."
[307] On Ibāḍī publishing houses in the 19th century, see "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus"

parts to that work.[308] Conspicuously absent, however, is the collection of traditions attributed to Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān al-Wisyānī (the *Sịyar al-Wisyānī*) and the book of *sịyar* on scholars of the Jabal Nafūsa attributed to al-Baghṭūrī from the 12th century. Indeed, aside from the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, the lists does not contain any other identifiable works of prosopography. That al-Barrādī, who did quite a lot of traveling, saw only one copy of one half of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and two copies of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* (one of which he described as in exceptionally bad shape to the point of illegibility), may tempt the conclusion that prosopographical works occupied a marginal space in the Ibāḍī manuscript libraries of the 14th century, perhaps similar to the marginal importance of historical works in the broader medieval Islamic tradition.[309]

An equally plausible and more compelling explanation for both this and the (relatively) small number of these works, however, is that these libraries, much like Ibāḍī manuscript collections of the 19th and 20th centuries, were in the first place modest, private collections of books, copied, purchased, and sold among an elite class of scholars literate in Arabic.[310] The anecdotes and communal history contained in the prosopographies would have been communicated to a much wider audience through student-teacher study circles (*ḥalqa*s), although often through the medium of translation and certainly in oral form. Al-Barrādī would have visited the private libraries of colleagues or teachers but he would not have encountered any grand public libraries. Indeed, the prosopographical and historical traditions mention no large libraries except for scattered references to the Rustumid

[308] On the manuscript tradition of these two parts, see Chapters 7 and 8.
[309] The marginal place of history writing consitutes an important theme in Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*.
[310] Konrad Hirschler has made similar observations regarding the modest size of private libraries in the Mashriq during the Middle Period. See "Local and Endowed Libraries and their Readers" in Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, 124–63.

Maʿṣūma library in Tāhart and the Qaṣr Wallam in the Jabal Nafūsa, both of which had been destroyed centuries earlier.[311] There were likewise no Ibāḍī *madrasas,* in the sense of the institutions that had already been established by the 11th century in the Maghrib, which held collections of endowed books.[312]

In addition to providing the principal titles held in Ibāḍī manuscript libraries, al-Barrādī's book list also indicates a few of the physical characteristics of these manuscripts. In most cases, for example, he relates whether a work is in a single volume or multiple volumes (*sifr/asfār*). He further distinguishes between different sections (*juz'*/p. *ajzā'*), which were presumably sewn together and bound as single volumes. In a couple of instances, he even refers to the (poor) physical condition of some the works in the list. In his introduction to the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, he makes reference to having seen two copies of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, one of them in exceptionally poor condition. Similarly, in the book list he notes the poor condition of some of the manuscripts. For example, he notes that a work by Saʿīd b. Zanghīl (d.10th c.) was missing its opening pages.[313] These types of descriptions deserve attention in that they demonstrate that pests and time were already challenges for preserving manuscript libraries in the 14th century.

In addition, al-Barrādī's book list makes a reference to paying individuals to copy manuscripts as well as to another important method for acquiring manuscripts, especially with regard to the exchange of oral and written knowledge between the eastern and western Ibāḍī communities: the *ḥajj*

311 As noted in the introduction to Ennami, "A Description of New Ibadi Manuscripts from North Africa," 63–64.
312 There are extant endowed copies of the prosopographies in the Maghrib, but only dating to the early-modern period (on which see Chapter 7, "People and Books"). The practice does appear to have been current by the 15th century, however. See Chapter 5, "The End of a Medieval Tradition."
313 Ṭālibī, *Ārā' al-khawārij al-kalāmiyya: al-mūjaz li-Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Ibāḍī*, 2:249.

pilgrimage.[314] When mentioning an Omani work known as the *Kashf al-ghumma*,[315] al-Barrādī notes that at one point he tasked an Ibāḍī in Mecca with having a copy made for him:

> كنت كلفت بعض أصحابنا من مكة على استنساخه فأتى به من قابل فلم يصادف هناك من له اهتبال بشيء فطلب المحتمل اجرته فلم يجدها فرده من هناك فلا قوة إلا بالله [316]

> I entrusted one of our friends [i.e. Ibāḍīs] from Mecca with the task of having [the book] copied. Someone who accepted [the task of copying] brought [the book so he could copy it] but he did not encounter anyone there who was aware of [my request]. The man carrying [the book] demanded his fee and did not find it, so he took the book from there and left. There is no strength except in God.

Finally, in addition to revealing something about physical state of Ibāḍī manuscript libraries in Northern Africa as well as methods of acquiring manuscripts at the end of the 14th century, al-Barrādī's list of books complements the vision of Ibāḍī history laid out in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. While the prosopographical tradition had previously remained a largely parochial one, drawing and redrawing the boundaries of the community in the Maghrib, the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* expanded that written network backward in time and eastward in space to include the Prophet and the earliest generations of Muslims. In similar fashion, al-Barrādī's book list presents works from both the eastern and western Ibāḍī traditions, emphasizing the community's geographic expanse.

**Conclusion**

The *Kitāb al-jawāhir* contributed to the medieval Northern African Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in two important ways, both of which distinguish it from its predecessors. In the first place, al-

[314] Wilkinson has noted that *ḥajj* has yet to receive the attention it deserves as the locus for interaction between Ibāḍī scholars from the two regional spheres. Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*, 235–37.
[315] On which see Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 1:48–49. This is puzzling because historians normally date the work known as the *Kashf al-ghumma* in Oman to the 17th century and so it would seem that al-Barrādī is referring to a different work with a similar title. Thanks to Adam Gaiser for pointing out this anachronism.
[316] Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ al-khawārij al-kalāmiyya: al-mūjaz li-Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Ibāḍī*, 2:287.

Barrādī's work broke with the tradition of using anecdotes of Ibāḍī scholars to build a collective history of the written network of Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib. Instead, he chose to link the prosopographical tradition of the 11th to 14th centuries with the foundation and early development of Islam as a way of legitimating the community and its place in the Maghrib of the 14th century, where Ibāḍīs had come to represent an increasingly small minority. The *Kitāb al-jawāhir* began by situating itself in the prosopographical tradition with its critique of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* and the *Kitāb al-sīra*, rebuking the author of the former in particular for his failure to describe the figures and events of the early history of Islam whom he, like his predecessors, saw as the earliest members of the Ibāḍī community, the 'first *ṭabaqa*' (*al-ṭabaqā al-ūlā*). Al-Barrādī then presented the early history of Islam with the aim of bringing that story to its culmination in the 8th century with the establishment of the Ibāḍī Rustamid Imamate in Northern Africa. In doing so, al-Barrādī linked the prosopographical tradition and the written network it described with the larger history of Islam.

The second of the distinguishing characteristics of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* and its contributions to the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition was the list it offered of works by both eastern and western Ibāḍī scholars. Both the short version in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* and the longer version that circulated independently in manuscript form point to certain features of Ibāḍī manuscript libraries in the Middle Period. The genres represented in the longer version of the list indicate the importance of theological, doctrinal, and legal works for Ibāḍī scholars. At the same time, the surprisingly small number of works—86 works representing the entire Ibāḍī manuscript corpus that al-Barrādī could recall having either seen or heard of—suggest that Ibāḍī manuscript collections would in the first place have been small, private collections rather than anything akin to institutional or royal libraries.

In order to acquire or read many of these works described by al-Barrādī, a student or scholar would have been obliged to do a lot of traveling. This would have been the case especially for eastern Ibāḍī works, with the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in particular providing an important opportunity for both regional communities to exchange books.

Lastly, the book list also served the broader aim and purpose of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. Just as the bulk of the text aims at connecting the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib to the early history of Islam by beginning with the Prophet Muhammad and ending with the Ibāḍī Rustamid Imams in Tāhart, so too the book list links the eastern and western traditions by bringing together works from the early and medieval Ibāḍī communities in Oman with those of early and medieval Maghribi scholars.

# Chapter 5:
# The End of a Medieval Tradition

Al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar* and the Ibāḍī communities of the 15th century

**Introduction**

The period from the 11th to the 14th centuries witnessed the gradual but steady numerical decline of the Ibāḍī community in Northern Africa. Largely in response to this long-term process of religious and political marginalization, each work in the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition up to the 15th century sought to define the external and internal boundaries of the Ibāḍī community, strengthening the ties between scholars of the past and present and preserving their memory for posterity through the formation of a written network. This written network moved toward formalization from the 11th to the 14th centuries, culminating in the connection of the Ibāḍī network of Northern Africa to the broader history of Islam in al-Barrādī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir*.

The *Kitāb al-siyar* by Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Shammākhī (d.1522) brought this medieval tradition to a close in the form a grand compilation of anecdotes and biographies of Ibāḍī scholars and pious figures from the origins of the community in the east nearly up to his own lifetime. Like those works before it, the *Kitāb al-siyar* appeared in a time of great change in the Maghrib including significant external threats to the Ibāḍī community. Likewise, al-Shammākhī's work marked not only the end of the medieval tradition but also the beginning of an era in which Ibāḍīs would develop a new intellectual and geographic center, the Mzab valley in what is today southern Algeria.

This chapter uses the *Kitāb al-siyar* as a lens through which to view the long-term written network of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition in Northern Africa. Although the *Kitāb al-siyar* includes the most comprehensive list of scholars and pious figures among all the works considered here, this chapter presents al-Shammākhī's work as a cumulative result of, more than an innovation to, trends in the medieval Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition. Al-Shammākhī had access to a far greater number of sources than his predecessors and his comprehensiveness reflects the widespread reliance on written sources at the end of the Middle Period (11th-16th c.). He had access to the entire prosopographical corpus discussed in previous chapters and had read a large number of non-Ibāḍī sources available in Hafsid Ifrīqiyā, of which he was a product. As a result, his work represents an impressive and comprehensive synthesis of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition that had developed over the previous four centuries while at the same time reflecting the political and religious landscape of the Maghrib in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

Al-Shammākhī's synthesis also marks a kind of plateau in the historical trajectory of the geography of Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib reached by the 15th century. By the end of al-Shammākhī's life in 1522, the political, religious, and linguistic marginalization of the Ibāḍī communities had largely reached its terminus. Ibāḍī communities now concentrated in a specific set of geographic locations in the Maghrib that would remain constant down to the present day. The numerical decline of Ibāḍī communities did continue into the early modern period, although mostly among the non-Wahbī communities in Ifrīqiyā and especially on the island of Jarba.[317] As such, the

[317] The *Kitāb al-siyar* is generally more explicit about referring to Wahbī Ibāḍīs as one among many groups. For example, in his entry on Abū Sākin ʿĀmir b. ʿAlī al-Shammākhī, he writes: "Every *Wahbī* [*Ibāḍī*] in the Maghrib traces his knowledge—that is, knowledge of the *madhhab*—back to him. (*wa kullu wahbiyyin bi l-maghrib innamā yarjiʿ mā maʿahu min al-ʿilmi ilayhi aʿnī ʿilm al-madhhab*)," al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 789.

*Kitāb al-siyar* marks the end of the medieval written network constructed by the corpus of texts that make up the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition.

**Al-Shammākhī and the *Kitāb al-siyar:* Framework**

The introduction to the *Kitāb al-siyar* echoes those of its predecessors, with one important and symbolic difference: the opening passage reads as a kind of dedication.

وردتْ رسالة ممّن أهمّه أمر أمرنا وابتغاء الاطلاع على أحوالنا ومعرفة أخبار بلادنا المعان منها بإخواننا والذي ضرب بِجِرانِه عدوّنا ومعرفة ما نحن فيه من التبرّج والاكتنان والظهور والكتمان والوقوف على مناقب الإخوان ونسب من سلف به من الزمّان من الأيمة أولي البقيّة والإحسان أم من سنام المجد قحطان أم من أهل السّماح والصّباح والرّماح رأس الشرف عدنان

تضمّنت الرسالة أنّهم أحيوا نفس الشّريعة السّاطعة الغرّاء وطل[و]ع شمس النّحلة النقيّة البيضاء وأنهم ر[ا]عوا العفو وشربوا الصّفو وساسوا بالعدل العباد وتمكنوا في البلاد وساموا الخسف أهل الجور والفساد بالإمام الجواد الواري الزّناد الماجد الأجداد الهمام الفاضل الأشمّ الباذل اللّباب الحُلاحِل أبو عبد الله محمد الأمير العادل المنتهي في الشرف إلى قحطان سواء كان من حمير أو أزد أو همدان

فانشرحت لسطوع نور هدايتهم صدورنا وسلوكهم محجّة من مضى من أسلافنا وإظهار منهج مذهب الحقّ مُشرقاً بشهادة غرابيل الصدق

> An epistle arrived from someone interested in our affairs and wanting to learn about our state of affairs and gain knowledge of the accounts of our country where our brothers live, which our enemy struck with his insolence. [He also wanted to have] knowledge of our [states] of open adornment and concealment, manifestation and secrecy,[318] as well as the virtues of the [Ibāḍīs] and the genealogy of the early Imams, those earliest possessors of legacy and beneficence, who led [the people] from the peak of glory, Qaḥṭān, who led the people of generosity and the morning and the spear, the seat of honor, ʿAdnān.
>
> The epistle included the notion that they [the Imams] revivified the soul of the radiant and luminous Sharīʿa and the [rising] of the sun of the pure and white faith; [that they] observed forbearance, drank of purity, and ruled the people with justice; [that they] became influential in the land and humiliated the people of tyranny and corruption [through the leadership of] the upright, God-fearing, and generous Imam, glorifier of the gallant ancestors, the distinguished and most honorable, the generous and intelligent Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, that just prince whose nobility goes back to Qaḥṭān, whether [from the people of] Ḥimyar or Azd or Hamdān.

[318] This is a reference to the Ibāḍī 'stages of religion' (*masālik al-dīn*), on which see Gaiser, "The Ibāḍī 'stages of Religion' re-Examined."

> I delighted in the shining of the light of their guidance on our hearts. [And I delighted in] their following the path of those of our pious forebears who came before and making apparent the method of the community of truth, illuminating with a testament to [these] sieves of truthfulness.[319]

Like those before him, al-Shammākhī noted here that a principal aim of his work was to preserve the memory of the community's pious forebears. Unlike his predecessors, however, al-Shammākhī explicitly dedicated this work to an *amīr*. The dedication to an unspecified prince, who from the tribes mentioned (Azd, Qaḥṭān) would appear to be Omani but could also be a Maghribi ruler claiming eastern origins,[320] marks the unique framing of al-Shammākhī's work as compared to those of his predecessors. Not only did the compiler dedicate his work to a ruler (patron?), he also created a prosopography that served as a comprehensive introduction to the historical Ibāḍī tradition for both Ibāḍīs *and non-Ibāḍīs*.[321] Works dedicated to princes and rulers were commonplace in the medieval Maghrib and most of the dynastic rulers of the region patronized their own court historians. Ibāḍīs, by contrast, had often held either ambiguous or openly hostile positions toward the ruling powers in the Maghrib and elsewhere. This makes al-Shammākhī's choice of dedicating his *Kitāb al-siyar* to an *amīr* all the more remarkable and represents the new place of Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib in the late 15th century.

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[319] al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 108.

[320] None of the extant manuscript copies of the *Kitāb al-siyar* (of the 26 copies I have examined) expands on the name 'Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad.' Given that al-Shammākhī spent significant time in Hafsid-era Tunis and moved prestigious *'ulamā'* circles there—including meeting the *amīr* Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān—it could refer to the Hafsid *amīr* of Tunis, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad (or 'Muḥammad IV', r.1494-1526). At a recent conference held in December 2015 in Tunis on the subject of al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar*, Aḥmad b. Saʿūd al-Sābī suggested that the compiler dedicated his work to an Omani prince from the late 15th/early 16th century, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Quḍāʿī. In either case, the identity of the prince will likely remain a point of speculation.

[321] The ability of the *Kitāb al-siyar* to serve as an introduction to Ibāḍī history also helps explain why Ibāḍī reformers of the late 19th century chose to print a lithograph edition of it, rather than its predecessors, in the context of *Nahḍa*-era Cairo, Tunisia and Algeria (on which see below, "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus").

The works of the prosopographical tradition before him had all addressed themselves to an exclusively Ibāḍī audience, often with a tone that communicated the community's portending doom as it suffered under pressure from external forces or internal divisions. By contrast, al-Shammākhī seems to address his work to interested contemporaries—be they Ibāḍīs or otherwise. Likewise, he presents his list of Ibāḍī scholars neither as an explicit effort to preserve the endangered memory of the community, as the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma* or the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* had done, nor as a guide for Ibāḍīs in the East like the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, nor as an exposition of the Ibāḍī place in Islamic history like the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. Instead, al-Shammākhī's work presents the history of the Ibāḍīs as one Muslim community among others. At times, he explicitly notes that the work's purpose is not to extol all of the virtues and miracles of the members of the community. Rather, he writes, "the intention of this book is familiarization [with the scholars of the community]."[322] This change in presentation speaks both to al-Shammākhī's background as a member of a scholarly Ibāḍī family educated in Hafsid Northern Africa, and to the very different space occupied by Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib more generally from the 15th century forward.

Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Shammākhī came from a long line of scholars in the Jabal Nafūsa and Jabal Dummar areas.[323] Following in the tradition of itinerant Ibāḍī students and scholars, al-Shammākhī traveled often among the different Ibāḍī centers of learning in the Jabal Nafūsa, Jabal Dummar, the island of Jarba, and—most importantly for shaping his own presentation of Ibāḍī history—the Hafsid capital of Tunis. Through various indications in the *Kitāb al-siyar,* al-Shammākhī makes it clear that

[322] "*al-qaṣad min hādhā 'l-kitāb al-taʿrīf,*" al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 292.
[323] Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:45–5. Cf. Ḥasan's biography in his edited version of the text (al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 13–17).

he has spent a significant amount of time in Tunis. Al-Shammākhī makes explicit reference to his teacher in Tunis, "al-Shaykh al-Baydamūrī" and to his having met the Hafsid ruler Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān (r.1435-1488).[324] This background could support the suggestion that al-Shammākhī dedicated his work to the contemporary Hafsid prince Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, one of several successors to Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān in the troubled last days of Hafsid rule in Ifrīqiyā at the beginning of the 16th century.[325] Al-Shammākhī's introduction suggests that this prince had come to the aid of the Ibāḍīs, possibly in reference to the defense of the island of Jarba by the Hafsids against one of many attacks by the Aragonese in the 15th century.[326] The *Kitāb al-siyar* also reflects the author's familiarity with both the non-Ibāḍī scholarly circles of Hafsid Tunis and the Ibāḍī tradition. As a result, the work presents the Ibāḍīs of Northern Africa as one Muslim community among many, able and willing to participate in the diverse religious landscape of the Maghrib in the late Hafsid period.

**Al-Shammākhī and Manuscript Sources**

Al-Shammākhī's sojourn in Tunis afforded him access to many more manuscript sources than what would have been available in the mountains of Jabal Nafūsa, southern Ifrīqiyā or Jarba. His reliance upon and citations of the work of the Zirid courtier and historian al-Raqīq, the *Murūj al-dhahab* of al-Masʿūdī, the chronicle of Ibn Ṣaghīr, and probably the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* of al-Balādhurī all indicate the degree to which a well-educated Ibāḍī scholar studying in Tunis would have been exposed to non-

[324] al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 14.
[325] Late Hafsid history still awaits the full attention of historians. Even Brunschvig's masterful *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides* stopped short of addressing the last days of the dynasty and the beginnings of Ottoman-allied influence in Tunis. On the Ottomans in Northern Africa, see Houari Touati, "Ottoman Maghrib," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 503–46.
[326] Fierro, "The Almohads and Hafsids," 96.

Ibāḍī sources.[327] Ḥafsid Tunis, rich in both royal and private manuscript collections,[328] would have offered students and scholars with a large pool of sources.

In addition, his belonging to an important Ibāḍī scholarly family meant that al-Shammākhī had access to a large number of written Ibāḍī works. The *Kitāb al-siyar* makes regular reference to written Ibāḍī sources that al-Shammākhī himself had seen and read (‘*ra’aytu*,’ etc.) and like al-Barrādī before him, he occasionally notes how certain works are divided into multiple small volumes or bound together in a single large volume. Several works described in the *Kitāb al-*siyar are accompanied by a comment that the manuscript is in the hand of a specific individual. When discussing one Abū Zakarīyā’ Yaḥyā b. Abī al-ʿIzz al-Shammākhī, our Shammākhī wrote:

...تعلّم العلم وعلّمه وكان نسّاخاً للكتب ولم يشغله العلم عن النّسخ ولا النّسخ عن العلم...ورأيتُ له كتباً كثيرة بخطّه من التفاسير وشرّاح [كتاب] الدّعائم و[كتاب] الضّياء وغير ذلك لا تخلو خزانة من خزائن كتب نفوسة من خطّه

> He both studied and taught and he was a copyist of books. But knowledge never prevented him from copying nor did copying keep him from knowledge...And I have seen many books in his hand including *tafsīr*s and commentaries on the [*Kitāb*] *al-Daʿāʾim* and the [*Kitāb*] *al-Ḍiyāʾ* and other books, such that no library of [the Jabal] Nafūsa lacks [a manuscript in] his hand.[329]

Here as elsewhere al-Shammākhī refers to the substantial collections of manuscript books held in the villages of the Jabal Nafūsa, including the names of several well-known copyists. In two specific cases, he also provides a hint of the fate of manuscript collections following the death of their owners. In one case, he notes that a collection went directly to its owner’s son following his death, which probably represents the most common trajectory of Ibāḍī manuscript collections in medieval Northern Africa. More significantly, al-Shammākhī provides the first example from the Ibāḍī prosopographical

[327] On al-Shammākhī’s sources, see Ḥasan’s introduction to his edited edition, especially “maṣādir al-kitāb” (al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 18–26.)
[328] For examples see “3. Bibliothèques” in Vol. 2 of Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XVième siècle*, 367–68.
[329] al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 781–82.

tradition of a manuscript collection being transformed into an endowment (*ḥabūs*), a practice long-since adopted in Sunni circles in the Maghrib but not widely practiced within Ibāḍī communities:

ومنهم أبو موسى عيسى بن عيسى الطرمسي...لم يتزوّج قطّ لاشتغاله بالعلم...وحبّس ما خلّف من الكتب على طلبة نفّوسة وفقهائها.

> And among them was Abū Mūsā ʿAysā b. ʿAysā al-Ṭirmsī...He never married on account of his intense focus on knowledge...And he endowed the books he left behind to the students and jurists of Nafūsa.[330]

The endowed library, as Konrad Hirschler has argued, marks an important shift in the Middle Period away from royal and institutions libraries to private collections that made them accessible to a much larger readership.[331] Similarly, the endowment of Ibāḍī manuscript collections in the Maghrib at the end of the Middle Period would have allowed for an unprecedented accumulation of books and access to book collections for students and scholars, who even a century earlier would have had to travel around Ifrīqiyā to read them, as al-Barrādī had done. The early modern endowed and family or clan collections on Jarba and the Mzab valley that survive to the present day as the main repositories of Ibāḍī manuscripts demonstrate the long-term effects of the adoption of the practice of endowing libraries.[332]

**Ibāḍī communities and the Maghrib in the 15th century**

[330] Ibid., 781.

[331] See "Local Endowed Libraries and their Readers" in Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, 124–63.

[332] On these see Chapter 6, "The Ravages of Time" and Chapter 8, "The Orbits of Ibāḍī Manuscripts."

If the 14th century remains an especially hazy period of eastern Maghribi history, the 15th century does not offer much of an improvement. While the Hafsid princes never succeeded in bringing large territories under their control, the two main Hafsid leaders of the 15th century, Abū Fāris (1394-1434) and Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān (1434-94), who for Robert Brunschvig represented "Les deux derniers grands souverains,"[333] did at least manage to bring their internecine conflicts to an end and establish diplomatic relations with the other major powers of the central and western Mediterranean. Negotiation and compromise with the various city-centered principalities of southern Ifrīqiyā and Tripolitania continued to be the norm, which allowed for some degree of stability in the south.[334] On the coast, the 15th century witnessed more or less constant diplomatic relations between the Hafsids and the various Italian city-states and with Provence. The Aragonese rulers of Iberia and the southern Italian peninsula challenged Hafsid rule of the Ifrīqiyān coast on several occasions, although by the end of the 15th century relations had normalized.[335] An important result of this Italian trade, in particular, was an influx of Italian-made paper, which would come to dominate Northern African markets for centuries—completely eclipsing any locally made paper or 'Arab' paper from the east.[336]

Meanwhile, Ibāḍī communities continued to operate under the radar of these larger political events. Perhaps most significantly, the small towns of the Mzab valley in the pre-desert of what is today Algeria began to emerge as a new intellectual and geographic center for Maghribi Ibāḍīs in the

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[333] Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XVième siècle*, 210.
[334] Cf. "The Age of the Emir" in Rouighi, *The Making of a Mediterranean Empire: Ifriqiya and Its Andalus, 1200-1400*, 97–122.
[335] For references to relations with Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Elba, Aragon, and Provence, see: Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XVième siècle*, 217; 251-257. Cf. Fierro, "The Almohads and Hafsids," 89 fn. 64 and 65. On trade agreements with Venice, see Bernard Doumerc, *Venise et l'émirat hafside de Tunis (1231-1535): Bernard Doumerc.* (Paris ; Montréal: L'Harmattan, 1999).
[336] On Italian paper in an Ibāḍī manuscript context, see Chapter 6 "The Ravages of Time."

15th century. Geographically poised to take advantage of Saharan trade and just far enough away from the action of the littoral, it was in the Mzab that Ibāḍī scholarship in the Maghrib would flourish for the next several centuries.[337] Although the first settlement of Ateuf (ʿAṭf) had been founded a few centuries earlier, the important centers of Benisguen, Malika and Ghardaia emerged as the hubs of intellectual activity from the 16th century forward alongside a new Maghribi diaspora community in Cairo.[338] Similarly, the mountainous regions of the Jabal Dummar and Jabal Nafūsa continued to produce important Ibāḍī scholars, best exemplified by al-Shammākhī's own family and another important scholarly group, the various branches of the famous al-Barūnī family.

By contrast, the inhabitants of the island of Jarba continued to suffer due to the island's geo-strategic importance in the central Mediterranean. After an unsuccessful invasion of the island in the early 14th century described in detail in the *Riḥla* of al-Tijānī,[339] the Hafsids had managed to take control of the Jarba in the early 15th century only to see this control challenged by the Aragonese a few decades later.[340] Nevertheless, even Jarba would remain home to and would continue to educate new generations of Ibāḍī scholars until the 20th century.[341] Significantly, though, from the efforts of the

[337] On the Mzāb and its libraries, see Chapter 7, "People and Books: Ibāḍī Manuscript Culture."
[338] The history of the medieval Mzab still requires a lot of research. Samples of the rich sources available to historians there have been published in articles in the Ibāḍī manuscripts journal, *El-Minhāj* in the past couple of years. E.g., Yaḥyā Būrās, "al-Ḥayāt al-fikriyya bi-miṇṭaqat mizāb fi-l-qarnayn 9-10 [AH]/ 15-16 [CE]," *El-Minhāj: dawriyya ʿilmiyya mutakhaṣṣiṣa fi makhṭūṭāt al-ibāḍiyya wa-wādī mīzāb fi wathāʾiqihā al-arshīfiyya* 2 (2013): 96–131. A recent attempt at a comprehensive history of the Mzāb is Ibn Bakīr al-Ḥājj Saʿīd, *Tārīkh banī mzāb: dirāsa ijtimāʿiyya wa-iqtiṣādiyya wa-siyasiyya*.
[339] al-Tijānī, *Riḥlat al-Tijānī*.
[340] Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XVième siècle*, 280.
[341] For two examples, see Chapter 8, "The Orbits of Ibāḍī Manuscripts."

Hafsids in the 15th century until the end of the 18th century, the Nukkārī (locally referred to as Mistāwī) Ibāḍī population of the island gradually converted to Maliki Islam.[342]

**A Cumulative Tradition: The Written Network of the *Kitāb al-siyar***

The remainder of the chapter will consider the long-term written network established by the *Kitāb al-siyar,* which brought together all of the other works of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus, in addition to biographies and lists of scholars from a variety of other written sources.

Like each of the works in the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition, the *Kitāb al-siyar* drew from, refined, and expanded the written network before it. In addition to the impressive compilation of the biographies of and anecdotes about Ibāḍī scholars that came before him, al-Shammākhī contributed valuable information on a handful of scholars from al-Barrādī's generation up to the mid-15th century. In particular, he provided the biographies of his own family, the Shammākhīs, demonstrating the family's dense network and prominent place in the formation of a new generation of late medieval scholars. Ultimately, the *Kitāb al-siyar* marked the end of a medieval written network, cumulatively formed and maintained over more than four centuries.

The sheer size of the network lends itself to the employment of a different analytic tool from that used in previous chapters:

[342] Maryamī, *Ibāḍiyyat jarba khilāl al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth*; Bargaoui, "(Ne plus) Être ibadhite dans la régence de Tunis: un processus de démarquage confessionnel à l'époque moderne."

| Al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar:* Network Summary | |
|---|---|
| **Total Number of Nodes** | 850 |
| **Total Number of Edges** | 1184 |
| **Degree Range** | 1-39 |
| **Average Degree** | 2.786 |
| **Average Path Length** | 8.0408... |
| **Network Diameter** | 23 |

**Table 9: Network summary of the Kitāb al-siyar. The large number of nodes and edges reflects the incorporation of the entire preceding corpus.**

The network summary from the *Kitāb al-siyar* reveals several interesting characteristics of the written network described by al-Shammākhī. Aside from a significant increase in the number of nodes and edges compared with earlier works in the prosopographical tradition, the average degree of any given node is remarkably small. Al-Shammākhī's work, unlike its predecessors, includes far more nodes with only one edge (either a self-edge or a single connection to one other figure in the network). That **312** or **36.66%** of the nodes in the *Kitāb al-siyar* have only a single link shows the cumulative power of bringing otherwise isolated figures into the broader written network of the prosopographical tradition. In turn, this much larger number means that the **average path length** is around 8 (a significant increase from the 3-4 of previous works). The explanation for this large number relates to al-Shammākhī's comprehensive approach in listing scholars and pious figures from the earliest generations to the 15th century. For example, al-Shammākhī includes entire sections on pious individuals who have no obvious relationship to the broader community, often only including their nickname.[343] Likewise, al-Shammākhī's use of sources like Ibn Sallām's *Kitāb al-bad'* and al-Baghṭūrī's *Siyar Nafūsa*,[344] means that much of his data amount to lists of names, rather than anecdotes or biographies which show that individuals have connections to other scholars. As has

[343] E.g., one section entitled "*faṣl adhkuru fihi ba'ḍa ahli l-karamāt"* lists the stories of individuals such "the man who prayed to God for rain." See al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 724–29.
[344] Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Kitāb fihi bid' al-islām wa-sharā'i' ad-dīn*; al-Baghṭūrī, *Siyar mashāyikh nafūsa.*

been the case from the beginning of the tradition, the absence of a connection in the text does not mean one did not exist in reality; however, the number of isolates in al-Shammākhī's version of the written network is remarkable. One of the major contributions of the *Kitāb al-siyar* was to bring all of these otherwise marginal figures into the written network.

Several filtering tools help reveal communities that are otherwise unidentifiable *a priori* by through broad visualization or a close-reading of the text. From the perspective of a network analysis of connections, the large number of isolates and nodes with only one connection distorts the data significantly. A first filter in the *Gephi* visualization program called "giant component"[345] helps identity the largest component of nodes. Then, since **36.66%** of the notes in the unfiltered version of the network are nodes with only a single edge, a second filter shows only those nodes with two or more edges. Finally, a third filter removes the isolates.

| **Al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar:* Network Summary (with Filters)** | |
|---|---|
| **Total Number of Nodes** | 385 (45.36% of total) |
| **Total Number of Edges** | 737 (62.25% of total) |
| **Degree Range** | 2-39 |
| **Average Degree** | 3.829 |
| **Average Path Length** | 7.4372… |
| **Network Diameter** | 21 |

**Table 10: Network summary of the Kitāb al-siyar after applying filters. The number of nodes has decreased substantially, reflecting that just over half of the individuals mentioned in the Siyar are either isolates or couplets of only two individuals without any additional connections.**

The filtered visualization results in a more compact and more easily legible network (Table 10). Filtering out those nodes with only a single connection reveals several interesting features of the written network in the *Kitāb al-siyar*. First, the network now includes only **45.36%** of all of the nodes

[345] The 'giant component' can refer to more than one thing in network theory and analysis depending, *inter alia*, on whether or not a network graph is random. Here I am using it in a more general (what Mark Newman calls 'sloppy') way to refer to "a large component that fills most of the network…while the rest of the network is divided into a large number of small components disconnected from the rest." Newman, *Networks*, 235.

but still represents **62.25%** percent of all connections. This suggests that, as was the case with its predecessors, the *Kitāb al-sīra* describes a scale-free, 'small world' network in which a small number of hubs account for the majority of connections (Figure 24).

The increase in average degree and decrease in average path length are expected results from the filter having removed those nodes with only a single connection and eliminated self-loops. Equally remarkably, though, the diameter of the network, even when those nodes with only one connection have been removed, remains large: **21,** versus the **23** of the unfiltered network. That the longest path between two scholars is 21 over nearly nine centuries may not be all that surprising, yet it is significant that the average path length is less than eight, consistent with other 'small-world' experiments of real-world networks. This path length helps demonstrate how

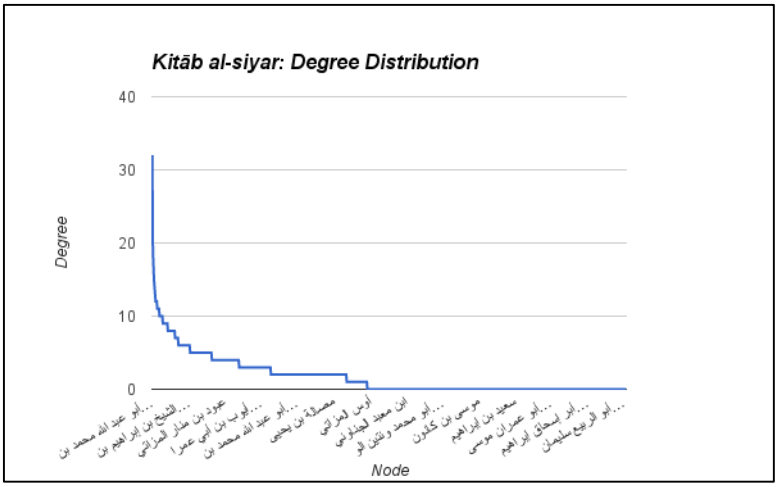


**Figure 25: Like other distribution graphs of the prosopographies, the Kitāb al-siyar reflects a dramatic disparity between the number of edges connecting a handful of well-connected scholars compared to the average.**

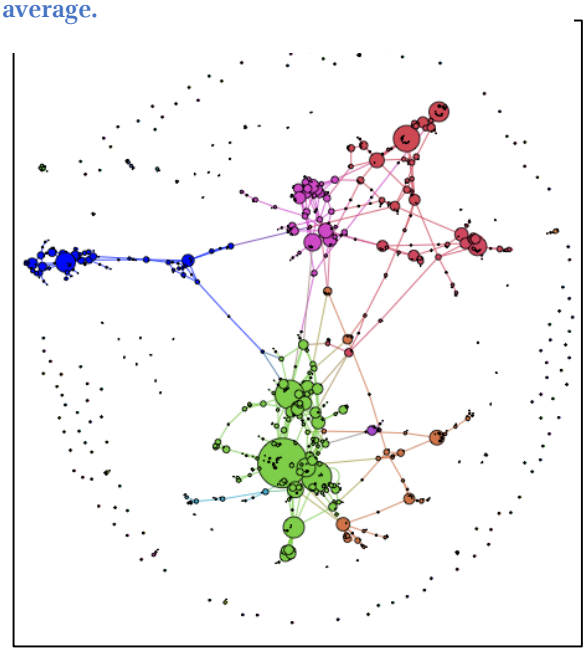

**Figure 24: The Kitāb al-siyar without filters. The colors represent communities of scholars. Each color represents a different group number: Pink (#0); Red (#1); Green (#2); Orange (#3); Blue (#4)**

the *Kitāb al-siyar* brings together scholars across great swaths of time and space, uniting them in a written network.

While the *Kitāb al-siyar* does bring all nodes together by virtue its including them within the same written work, al-Shammākhī also (whether intentionally or not) describes **communities** of scholars. The *Kitāb al-siyar* lends itself to the use of an additional concept borrowed from network analysis not employed in previous chapters, namely, **modularity,** for identifying communities. Modularity, meaning "the extent to which like is connected to like in a network,"[346] identifies common features and shared connections among nodes in order to identify communities. The use of a modularity algorithm when analyzing all of the nodes and edges described in the *Kitāb al-siyar* makes it possible to identify communities of scholars within the written network, but those peripheral nodes with one only connection or self-loop connections distort the clarity of the image. Nevertheless, even without the filters the communities of the written network of the *Kitāb al-siyar* already appear defined (Figure 25).

Filtering those individuals with only one connection and employing the modularity algorithm in *Gephi* reveals a much more defined set of communities.[347] The communities appearing in the filtered version (represented by similar colors) help narrow down and organize the connections among different scholars (Figure 26).

[346] Ibid., 224.

[347] The modularity algorithm in Gephi is based on: Vincent D. Blondel et al., "Fast Unfolding of Communities in Large Networks," *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment* 2008, no. 10 (2008).

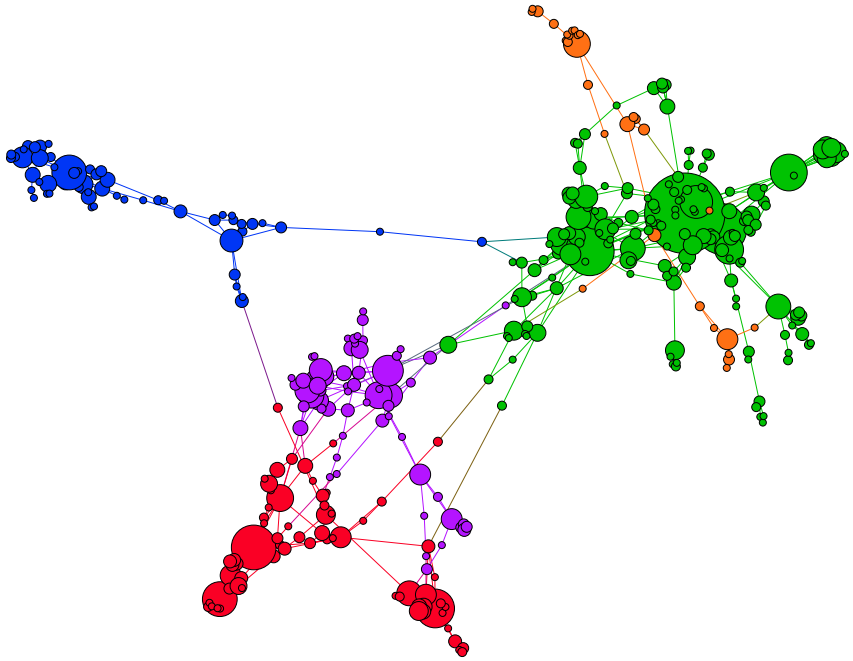

**Figure 26: The Kitāb al-siyar after applying the modularity algorithm in Gephi. Each color represents a different group number: Pink (#0); Red (#1); Green (#2); Orange (#3); Blue (#4)**

Communities divide into five clusters. Although al-Shammākhī did not systematically organize his biographies and anecdotes into any chronological, geographical, or tribal organization, this version of the network visualization reveals that these clusters of connections correspond broadly to both geographic and temporal divisions (Table 11).

| Group Number (Color) | Number of Nodes | Predominant Geographic Associations | Predominant Chronological Associations | Predominant *Nisba*s |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 (Pink) | 61 | Jabal Nafūsa | 10th-11th c. | al-Lālūtī; al-Nafūsī; al-Sharūsī; al-Tadimirtī; al-Baghṭūrī; al-Durfī |
| 1 (Red) | 57 | Tāhart; Jabal Nafūsa | 8th-10th c. | Al-Fārisī (i.e., Rustamid Dynasty); al-Maʿāfirī; al-Fursuṭāʾī; al-Wīghwī |
| 2 (Green) | 150 | Jarba; Jarīd; Dummar | 11th-13th c. | Al-Mazātī; al-Wisyānī; al-Lamāʾī; al-Yājrānī; al-Ya[h]rāsanī; al-Zawāghī; |
| 3 (Orange) | 22 | Warjālān; Sadrāta; Jarīd | 11th-13th c. | Al-Sadrātī; al-Tināwatī; al-Timījārī [al-Darjīnī] |
| 4 (Blue) | 48 | Jabal Nafūsa | 13th-15th c. | Al-Shammākhī; al-Jiṭānī; al-Bārūnī; al-Janāwanī; al-Nafūsī |

**Table 11: Group numbers here correspond to the colors in the preceding figure showing the results of the modularity algorithm on the *Kitāb al-siyar*. While the places and prominent nisbas are not exclusive to specific periods, they do conform in general to the divisions here.**

These 338 nodes, representing roughly 40% of all nodes in the network, together form clusters broadly corresponding to commonly-accepted periodization of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rustamid Period (8th-10th c.): | Group 1 |
| Transitional Period (10th-11th c.): | Group 0 |
| Formative *ʿAzzāba* Period (11th-13th c.): | Group 2 and 3 |
| Established *ʿAzzāba* Period (13th-15th c.): | Group 4 |

Each of these periods also corresponds generally to a division of the prosopographical corpus itself, demonstrating the cumulative character of the *Kitāb al-siyar*. If the degree range filter is removed, it becomes clear that these communities represent the principal divisions of the *Kitāb al-siyar* (Figure 27). Without the filter, the graph depicts 623 nodes and 975 (82.35%) of all connections and all communities remain clearly defined.

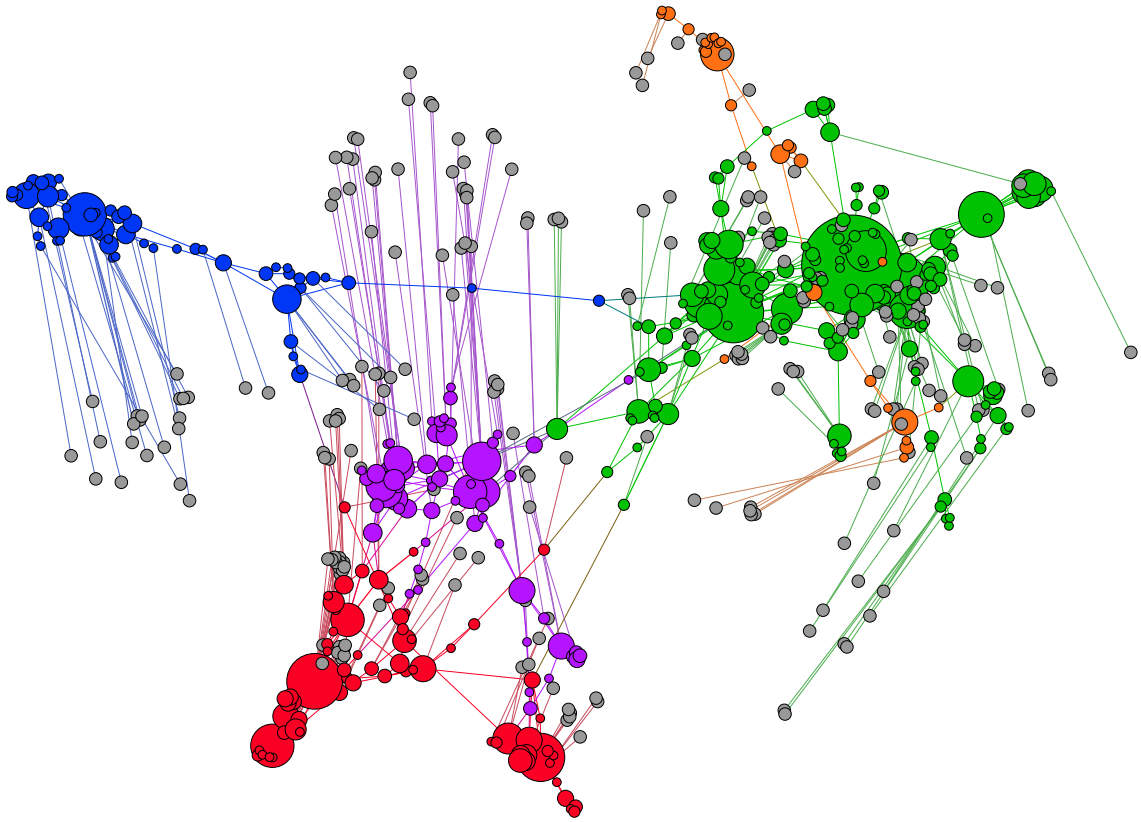

**Figure 27: The Kitāb al-siyar without a degree range filter (still using the 'giant component' filter). Communities are still clearly defined and the graph now shows 73.29% of all nodes and 85.35% of all edges.**

**Conclusion**

In bringing together and presenting the biographies and anecdotes of Ibāḍī scholars from the beginnings of Islam to the 15th century, al-Shammākhī's work marked the cumulative result of four centuries of medieval Ibāḍī prosopography in the Maghrib. Of course, the *Kitāb al-siyar* represents much more than a compilation of previous sources. Al-Shammākhī's choices of whom to include or exclude, the prominence of his own family, the absence of Berber texts, and a variety of other features of the contents of the work speak both to the compiler's lived context and to his authorial voice. Likewise, the *Kitāb al-siyar* no doubt represents an important source for the history of Northern Africa

well beyond the confines of Ibāḍī history.[348] However, this chapter has situated the *Kitāb al-siyar* in a long-term tradition of prosopography, each installment of which aimed to mark the boundaries of the Ibāḍī community and which together constructed and maintained the narrative of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib.

As its dedication and introductory passages indicate, the *Kitāb al-siyar*, unlike its predecessors, spoke to both an Ibāḍī and a non-Ibāḍī audience. This reflects several differences between al-Shammākhī and his predecessors as well as more broadly between the Maghrib of the 15th century and earlier periods. First, the work demonstrates the compiler's personal background and education in the diverse religious landscape of Hafsid Ifrīqiyā. Al-Shammākhī had access to a large number of Ibāḍī manuscripts thanks both to his family's distinguished scholarly past and to the increase in the number of written works available by his lifetime. Changes in manuscript collection practices, and the endowment of collections in particular, alongside the accumulation of written works more generally over the previous century or more meant more manuscripts to be read.

In addition, not only did al-Shammākhī study and read manuscripts in the traditional Ibāḍī centers of the Jabal Nafūsa, Jarba, and Jabal Dummar, but he also spent a significant amount of time in the Hafsid capital of Tunis, interacting with both Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī scholars, reading their manuscripts, and discussing their ideas. As a result, the *Kitāb al-siyar* mirrors both al-Shammākhī's personal educational journey and the religious milieu of the late 15th century Maghrib, in which Ibāḍīs had in a way become participants rather than adversaries.

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[348] E.g., the only (partial) English translation of al-Shammākhī appears in a compilation of Arabic sources for the history of West Africa: J. F. P Hopkins and Nehemia Levtzion, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 368–69.

Since the 11th century the Ibāḍī community had been struggling to maintain its place in an increasingly diverse political and religious landscape in Northern Africa. By the 15th century, the cumulative prosopographical corpus had constructed the boundaries of community and the history and place of Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib. The *Kitāb al-siyar* marks the end of that long-term process of building an Ibāḍī tradition. But the framing of al-Shammākhī's work and the life of its author also worked in concert with its content and structure to achieve this final presentation of the written network. Using network analysis, and modularity in particular, the chapter has also demonstrated that the *Kitāb al-siyar* depicts clusters of scholars within the boundaries of the Ibāḍī community that mark both the geographic and chronological hubs of the Middle Period. The existence and identification of these hubs highlights the crucial importance of specific locations in loosely-defined periods to the formation of the written network. Likewise, the locations and chronological periods represented by these clusters correspond generally to the contents of each of the previous works of the prosopographical tradition, which demonstrates the cumulative processes of tradition building over five centuries.

# Chapter 6:
# The Ravages of Time

Ibadi Prosopographies and their Material Remains

**Introduction**

Writing in 1970, the Libyan historian ʿAmr Ennami described the host of obstacles standing before scholars interested in Ibāḍī manuscripts. Ibāḍīs, who already represented a minority in Northern Africa in the medieval centuries, often hid their works or saw them destroyed by their religious or political adversaries, so that it is hardly surprising that the vast majority of Ibāḍī manuscripts today remain in private libraries. However, Ennami also quoted Ibāḍī Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī's *Kitāb al-lumʿa* in highlighting the most insurmountable obstacle of all in the preservation of Ibāḍī manuscripts: "the ravages of time have overtaken most of them."[349] Countless numbers of Ibāḍī manuscripts have doubtless been lost to the ravages of time, the torches of their adversaries, or those most formidable enemies of even the most cared-for manuscript collections: humidity and pests. At the same time, thousands of Ibāḍī manuscripts from the late medieval and early modern periods have survived into the 21st century; and a considerable corpus of works from the prosopographical tradition have survived in manuscript form.

[349] Ennami, Amr K. "A Description of new Ibadi Manuscripts from North Africa," *Journal of Semitic Studies,* 15 (1970), 63.

This chapter provides a broad overview of those material remains of the Ibāḍī prosopographies as of the second decade of the 21st century. These manuscripts pick up where the previous half of this study left off in the 15th century and follow the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib into a new and very different era. While the next two chapters meditate on the matrices of politics, technologies, and space for which the corpus provides evidence in the early modern and contemporary periods, the present chapter limits itself to a survey of the extant manuscript copies of the five Ibāḍī prosopographies already described in the previous sections. It begins with a presentation of some of the various libraries and collections that make up 'the Ibāḍī archive.' A description of the survey as well as the structure of the database and an explanation of its contents then follows.

**Private and Public Libraries Housing Ibāḍī Manuscripts**

The most striking feature of the material remains of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition is the period to which the majority of the oldest copies in the manuscript corpus date: the 15th and 16th centuries. Their survival from this particular period represents more than mere chance, and it deserves to be noted that the oldest material remains of the medieval prosopographical tradition date to the *end* of the medieval tradition itself. Understanding the reasons for the temporal and geographic distribution of Ibāḍī manuscripts in the present requires a cursory survey of the institutions and libraries where they are currently held.

*Algeria*

Without a doubt, the private libraries of Algeria's Mzab valley house the largest geographic concentration and quantity of Maghribi Ibāḍī manuscripts in the world. At least 148 private libraries, with collections ranging from a handful to thousands of titles, are scattered throughout this region today.[350] Mzabi Algerians themselves have for more than two decades devoted a tremendous amount of time and energy to cataloging and preserving these collections. Three major Ibāḍī associations, in particular, have led these efforts in recent years:

(1) *Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish* [The Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish Association] (Ghardaia, Algeria)[351]
(2) *Jamʿiyyat al-turāth* [The Heritage Association] (Guerrara, Algeria)[352]
(3) *Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd* [The ʿAmmī Saʿīd Institute] (Ghardaia, Algeria)[353]

In addition to maintaining their own impressive libraries of manuscripts and archival materials relating to Ibāḍī communities in the region, these three organizations have printed editions of primary texts as well as secondary historical, sociological, and anthropological studies in both Arabic and French. They have also overseen the cataloging of many different private manuscript collections in the Mzab, including those owned by both individuals and large families. To date (early 2016), ten of these catalogs have been prepared in electronic editions that have been made widely available in CD-ROM format.[354] Several more cataloging projects have already been completed and those editions are

[350] For an overview of the manuscript libraries of the Mzab, see "Lamḥa ʿan tārīkh al-maktabāt bi-mizāb" in *Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-khizāna al-ʿāmma* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat al-Shaykh ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2002), "dāl-jīm."
[351] For more on this association see: http://www.elminhaj.org
[352] This association is also responsible for the publication (online and in print) of the a comprehensive dictionary of Ibāḍī scholars in the Maghrib: Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000. For more information on this organization see: http://www.tourath.org
[353] For more on this association see: http://www.irwane.org
[354] *Al-Fahāris Al-ʿāshir Lil-Makhṭūṭāt*, version 1.1, (CD-ROM, Windows), Arabic (Ghardaia: Muʾassat al-shaykh ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2010).

set to appear in the near future. In some cases, cataloging was accompanied by the creation of digital facsimiles of entire collections. In addition, these and other cataloging efforts have resulted in a prototype of an electronic search engine—aptly named 'al-Barrādī'— created by the Abū Isḥāq Assocation (*Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq*) in the city of Ghardaia that when made public will allow researchers to search for manuscript copies according to title, copyist, date, location of transcription, and other features.[355]

The manuscripts held in these collections date primarily to the 15th-20th centuries and many of them were transcribed in the Mzab, especially those collections founded by prominent scholars or cumulatively collected by Mzabi families. Some manuscripts also came to the Mzab from other places in Northern Africa and Western Asia (especially Egypt and what is today the Sultanate of Oman). Those collections fully cataloged and widely available in print and in PDF format on CD-ROM include:

*Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-khizāna al-ʿāmma* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2002)

*Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat al-Shaykh Ḥammū Bābā Mūsā* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2003)

*Fihris makhṭūṭāt al-khazāʾin al-thalātha* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2005)

*Fihris makhṭūṭāt maktabat al-ustādh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥājj Saʿīd Lakhbūrāt* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2005)

*Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat Dār al-taʿlīm* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2007)

*Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat al-Shaykh al-Qāḍī Abī Bakr b. Masʿūd al-Ghardāwī* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2007)

[355] On the design and implementation of the catalog see the projects section of the *Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq* website: http://www.elminhaj.org/CatalogueEnrichi.php

*Tunisia*

Due in large part to the history of Tunisia in the 20th century, Ibāḍī manuscripts there are found primarily in two places: the *Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie* (BnT) in Tunis, and privately owned libraries on the island of Jarba. The BnT was founded in the late 19th century during the reign of Tunisian Bey Ali Pacha, but it was not until 1967 that the Tunisian government under president Habib Bourghiba formally called on religious institutions and private libraries to donate their manuscript collections to the new national library.[356] Over several decades, the BnT amassed an impressive collection of over 40,000 titles that included a handful of Ibāḍī texts.[357] Although the exact circumstances whereby these Ibāḍī manuscripts made their way to the Tunisian National Library are far from clear, they probably came from two major sources. The first was the private collection of the Tunisian historian Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1884-1968) and the second from part of the collection of manuscripts belonging to the Ibn Taʿārīt family of the island of Jarba.[358]

This second collection is one of many that have their origins in Jarba. As discussed throughout the first half of the present study, Jarba has been home for more than a millennium to prominent Ibāḍī scholars including those born there and the countless students and scholars who settled or studied there but came originally from the Mzab valley, nearby Tripolitania and the Jabal Nafūsa in Libya, as well as Egypt and Oman. As is the case in the Mzab, most of these libraries today remain in

[356] On the history of the library see: http://www.manumed.org/fr/bibliotheque_mediterraneee/19-bibliotheque_nationale_de_tunis.html

[357] See: Jocelyn Hendrickson, "A Guide to Arabic Manuscript Libraries in Morocco, with Notes on Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, and Spain," *MELA Notes: Journal of Middle Eastern Librarianship* 81 (2008): 72–79.

[358] For examples of manuscripts from these collections and a description of other Ibāḍī manuscripts at the BnT, see Paul M. Love, "Ibāḍī Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie: Descriptions, Watermarks, and Implications," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, forthcoming 2016.

private hands. The two best-known manuscript collections, together representing somewhere around 2000 titles, are the Barouni (al-Bārūnī)[359] family library in the village of Mellīta and the Ben Yaqoub (Bin Yaʿqūb)[360] family library in the village of Ghīzen. While both Northern African and European researchers have consulted manuscripts from both of these collections for decades, neither library has been cataloged in its entirety to date.[361]

In addition to these two well known libraries, other smaller but important collections are scattered in the homes of families throughout the island. The mid-20th century call by the Bourghiba administration to surrender these manuscripts to the Tunisian National Library encountered opposition and most families, regarding the call with suspicion, continue to keep their inherited manuscript collections hidden. An additional effort to preserve manuscripts in Jarba came in the 1980s when the Association for the Safeguard of the Island of Jarba (*Jamʿiyyat ṣiyānat jazīrat jarba*) called on families to donate manuscripts to its library for long-term preservation. This resulted in the donation of twelve manuscript volumes from different families to that library and those texts are today available to researchers.[362] In addition, that same organization carried out a survey of several

[359] An initial effort at cataloging the collection was carried out in the 1990s in cooperation with the Tunisian National Library. That catalog is available at: http://elbarounia.com. At the beginning of 2016, a new facility housing the collection opened in the town of Houmt Souk.

[360] Unlike most Ibāḍī manuscript collections in the Maghrib, this library's collection was collected by an individual rather than passed down through several generations. The original owner of the library was Sālim b. Yaʿqūb (d.1991), a Tunisian historian and Ibāḍī shaykh from the village of Ghīzin (Guizen) on the island of Jarba. Many of the manuscripts came into his possession during his time at the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in Cairo, Egypt. The family current curates the library, which at the time of writing (2016) remains on the family estate in Ghīzin and is closed to researchers.

[361] At the time of writing, efforts were underway to catalog both of these libraries. On the ongoing efforts of the *Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq* to catalog to the Barouni library, see Love, "Écouter le conte d'un manuscrit: penser avec une copie d'une chronique ibadite de la bibliothèque Barouni à Djerba." In addition, I carred out an initial inventory of the Bin Yaʿqūb library in October-November 2015 under the auspices of a Collection Care and Emergency Response Grant provided by The Islamic Manuscript Association (UK), the details of which will be hopefully be published in 2017.

[362] In December 2015, I examined these manuscripts, which include both Ibāḍī and Maliki manuscripts. I am currently preparing a catalog of them for publication in 2016.

private collections and published inventories of them in a pamphlet that accompanied an exhibition of manuscripts in the town of Houmt Souk in 1987.[363] Tragically, a fire destroyed one of those collections listed in the pamphlet, belonging to the al-Buʿṭūrī family, a few years later.[364] Mosques and families throughout the island today still hold small numbers of manuscripts, although even an estimate of how many remains impossible at present.

### *Egypt*

The Egyptian National Library, the *Dār al-Kutub,* today houses an important collection of Ibāḍī manuscripts. As it does for other manuscripts in its collection, the library restricts access to microfilm copies and the exact number of Ibāḍī titles is unknown.[365] Almost all of these manuscripts came to the library from the Ibāḍī trading agency-cum-school in the Ṭūlūn district of Cairo, the *Wikālat al-jāmūs.* Founded in the late 16th century through a religious endowment established by merchants from Jarba, the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, amassed a large collection of Ibāḍī manuscripts over several centuries.[366] In the years following the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, the last curator of the *Wikāla*, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish (1886-1965), relocated part of the collection to his private residence while the other manuscripts were moved to the new National Library. While the latter part of the collection

[363] *Qā'imat al-kutub al-mawjūda fi-l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa wa l-ʿāmma* (Hūmat al-sūq: Jamʿiyyat ṣiyānat jazīrat jarba, 1987).
[364] The circumstances surrounding the destruction of the library are unclear. The collection was especially important for historians of Ibāḍism because it housed the only known extant copy of the earliest work by an Ibāḍī scholar in the Maghrib known was the *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* and published in 1986 as: Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Kitāb fihi bid' al-islām wa-sharā'iʿ ad-dīn*.
[365] For a review of the manuscript collections at *Dār al-kutub* see Noah Gardiner, "A review of the Dar al-Kutub manuscript collections, Cairo, Egypt," http://www.dissertationreviews.org/archives/7355 (2014).
[366] Aḥmad Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fi miṣr wa-dawruhu fi l-tanmiya al-iqtiṣādiyya wa-l-ijtimāʿiyya wa-l-thaqāfiyya min al-qarn al-ʿāshir ilā al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrīyayn* (*wikālat al-jāmūs namūdhajan*) (Kuwait: al-Amāna al-ʿāmma lil-awqāf, 2012). For details of manuscripts from the *Wikālat al-jāmūs,* see Chapter 7 below.

remains today in the *Dār al-kutub*, those manuscripts that were in the curator's possession were dispersed to different libraries. Some were sent to private libraries in the Mzab valley, especially to the library of Amuḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish (1820-1914), known by his honorific title of *Quṭb al-a'imma* in Benisguen, Algeria. In addition, the (now) Grand Muftī of the Sultanate of Oman, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khalīlī purchased many of these manuscripts from the Aṭfayyish family in Egypt.[367]

*A Note on Oman, Zanzibar and Libya*

In addition to those manuscripts that came to Oman from the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, large collections of Ibāḍī manuscripts are also held in the public and private libraries of the Sultanate of Oman. Efforts to catalog some of these collections have been made by the Omani Ministry of Culture and Heritage in recent decades.[368] In the present study I did not use any manuscripts from these collections because I was unable to locate copies of Maghribi prosopographical works in any cataloged Omani collections, with the exception of a copy of al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar* that came to Oman from Cairo.[369] Likewise, Ibāḍī manuscripts are also held by families and in the National Archives on the island of Zanzibar, which along with coastal Tanzania remains home to a small number of Ibāḍī families because of that island's historical relationship with Oman. I was likewise unable to locate any manuscript copies of the five *siyar* texts discussed here in the inventory of the Zanzibar National

[367] Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 38–42.
[368] *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt* [multiple volumes] (Muscat: Wizārat al-turāth al-qawmī, 1995-2007).
[369] F.1.a of MS_139 from the collection of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khalīlī, a copy of al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar,* bears an endowment (*waqf*) statement that reads: *"wuqifa li-llāh taʿālā ʿalā ṭalabat al-ʿilm lā yubāʿ wa-lā yushtarā wa-lā yurhan alladhīna yaqra'ūna fī wikālat al-jāmūs* (A bequest to God the Exalted for the students of knowledge—not to be sold, purchased, or pawned—who study at the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs*)".

Archives[370]—although printed editions of these texts would no doubt have circulated there during the late 19th and early 20th centuries through the networks of modern Ibāḍī publishing houses.[371]

The most regrettable lacuna in this study is the absence of manuscripts of the Jabal Nafūsa (*al-Jabal al-Gharbī*) region of northwestern Libya. This region, as discussed in the first part of the study, was historically home to some of the oldest Ibāḍī families in Northern Africa. As late as the mid-20th century, secondary scholarship of Ibāḍī history referenced manuscript collections in the region, although most studies focused on the libraries of the Mzab and Jarba.[372] Largely in response to the systematic marginalization of Ibāḍī communities under the Gaddafi government in the second half of the 20th century, however, family collections were transferred elsewhere or worse yet hidden underground in an effort to protect them, only to be lost or forgotten by later generations. While many Ibāḍī manuscripts are no doubt still there, attempts to date to create inventories or even to identify major collections have failed. In light of recent political changes in Libya and the efforts of local Ibāḍī organizations,[373] the coming decades may witness the rediscovery of large manuscript collections there.[374]

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[370] I suspect that a handful of private Ibāḍī libraries still exist in Zanzibar, but the only official inventory available to me was Lorenzo Declich, *The Arabic Manuscripts of the Zanzibar National Archives: A Checklist* (Pisa and Rome: Accademia Editoriale, 2006).

[371] On 19th and 20th century Ibāḍī networks in Africa and Western Asia see Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*. On Ibāḍī printing activities in Zanzibar see "Zanzibar" in Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 56–64.

[372] E.g., Schacht, "Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites"; Ennami, "A Description of New Ibadi Manuscripts from North Africa"; Fekhar, "Les communautés ibadites en Afrique du Nord (Libye, Tunisie et Algérie) depuis les Fatimides"; Josef Van Ess, "Untersuchungen einiger ibāḍitischen Handschriften," *Zeitschrift der Deutschnen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126 (1976): 25–63.

[373] The *Jamʿiyyat al-fatḥ li-dirāsāt al-ibāḍiyya*, founded in 2012, has been especially active. The organization does not yet have a formal website outside of its Facebook page.

[374] According to Martin Custers, in February 2007 the Amazigh-Ibāḍī website http://www.tawalt.com announced that the owner, Muḥammad Umādī, had acquired 21 manuscripts from the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs*. Since that date, the manuscripts were transported from the site of purchase to the Tawalt library in Paris and then to an unknown location in Morocco. Umādī

*Western European Collections*

Somewhat surprisingly considering the extended French colonial presence in the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries, the national and university libraries of Western Europe today house only a small number of Ibāḍī manuscripts. With the exception of a single copy of Abū Zakarīyā''s *Kitāb al-sīra* held at the University of Leiden that came from the collection of socio-linguist René Basset (d.1924),[375] the only copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies I was able to find in Western Europe were in France and Italy. While the French colonial presence in Northern Africa did result in large collections of Arabic manuscripts making their way to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, original manuscript copies of the Ibāḍī *siyar* texts do not appear in that library's catalog.[376] This is especially surprisingly given the keen interest among French Orientalists in Ibāḍī history and in the *siyar* texts more specifically.[377]

The only copies of Ibāḍī *siyar* that I found in France were two 20th-century copies held in the private archive of the French historian Roger LeTourneau (d.1907-1971) at the Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence. These copies were made from manuscripts held at the University of Algiers library in the mid-20th century.[378] Tragically, an arson attack on the library

himself has now (2016) returned to Libya, and the manuscripts have likely returned with him (Personal correspondence with Martin Custers, 7 August 2015 and 5 January 2016).

[375] Leiden Or. 14.0005. For a description see J.J. Witkam, "Or. 14.0005 K. al-Sīra wa Akhbār al-A'imma" in *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands,* V.1 (1983), 8-10.

[376] The BnF catalog lists two copies of the prosopographies, but both are actually microfilms acquired from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Tunis (C 130, *al-Siyar al-ibāḍiyya*) and the *Dār al-kutub* in Cairo (C 91, *Ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh al-ibāḍiyya*), respectively.

[377] On which see "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus"

[378] "Kitāb at-Ṭabaqāt," ANOM 7APOM/3; "*Kitāb al-sīra wa akhbār al-a'imma,*" ANOM 7APOM/12

carried out by the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète in June 1962 destroyed this small but important collection of Ibāḍī texts along with most other Arabic manuscripts at the university library.[379]

Finally, the manuscript copies of Ibāḍī *siyar* in Italy are held at the library of the Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale.[380] This small collection came to Naples via Tripoli, following the Italian occupation of Libya (1911-1943).[381] These manuscripts served as the basis for several well-known studies by Roberto Rubinacci.[382]

### *Eastern European Collections*

In contrast to the scarcity of Ibāḍī manuscripts in Western Europe, important collections of Ibāḍī manuscripts were housed in two Eastern European libraries in the 20th century. These two originally constituted a single collection housed in the library at what was in the early part of the 20th century the University of Lwów. Two 20th-century Polish Orientalists, Zygmunt Smogorzewski (1884-1931) and his student Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992), collected these manuscripts during their respective trips to Northern Africa. Following Smogorzewski's death and the subsequent invasion of Lwów by the German and then the Soviet armies, the collection split in two with some of the manuscripts being

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[379] On the history of the library and the attack, see Abdi Abdallah, "Histoire de la Bibliothèque Universitaire d'Alger et de sa reconstitution après l'incendie du 7 juin 1962," *Université d'Alger Bibliothèque Universitaire* (*Website*), N.D., http://bu.univ-alger.dz/Reconstitution_de_la_B.U.pdf.

[380] The Arabic manuscript collection is substantial but its exact number is unknown. I am currently (2016) preparing an inventory of Ibāḍī titles in the library's collection and my hope is that I will have the opportunity to co-author a survey article on the Arabic manuscripts with librarian Antonella Muratgia of the University of Naples.

[381] Rubinacci, "Il 'Kitāb al-Jawāhir' di al-Barrādī," 95. On the Italian occupation of Libya see Claudio G Segrè, *Fourth Shore: The Italian Colonization of Libya* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller, eds., *Italian Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Anna Baldinetti, "Italian Colonial Rule and Muslim Elites in Libya: A Relationship of Antagonism and Collaboration," in *Guardians of Faith in Modern Times 'ulama' in the Middle East*, ed. Meir Hatina (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 91–108.

[382] On Rubinacci and other Italian contributions to Ibāḍī studies see Francesca, "Ibāḍī Studies in Naples. Rereading the Works of Last Century Italian Scholars."

brought to Krakow and the other half remaining in Lwów.[383] The latter half of the collection remains intact and held at the Ivan Franko National University in Lviv [= Lwów], Ukraine.[384] Following the death of Tadeusz Lewicki in 1992, the Sultanate of Oman purchased the other half of the collection from the Lewicki family in Krakow.[385]

After this presentation of the public and private libraries and repositories housing copies of the Ibāḍī *siyar* texts, the following section provides an overview of how I cataloged copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies from these collections into a relational database for use in the present study.

**The Ibāḍī Prosopographical Manuscript Database: Structure and Procedure of Data Entry**

The database software used for the survey was FileMaker Pro 13.0v5.[386] The structure of the database consists of three different but interrelated components:

(1) Manuscript Description. This component assigned manuscript identification number (MS_ID) to each manuscript title (Figure 28). Each entry provides basic bibliographic data on the manuscript including: location, author, incipit, explicit, colophon, and notes on ownership and transmission history. This component of the database is almost entirely based on the content and paratexts of the manuscripts.

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[383] On these two figures see Kościelniak, "The Contribution of Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992) to Islamic and West African Studies."

[384] A published catalog (in Russian) of these manuscript was prepared by A. Savchenko, *Kollekstiya ubaditskikh rukopiseĭ Nauchnoĭ Biblioteki L'vovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* (Kiev, 1989).

[385] I have yet to learn precisely *who* in Oman purchased these manuscripts or where they are currently housed. In any event, the Library of the Institute of Orientale Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow now possesses photocopies of these manuscripts. For physical descriptions of the original manuscripts from the Polish collection as they were in the mid-20th century, see the entries in Stefana Strelcyna, *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich*, vol. 5 (Warsaw, 1964).

[386] FileMaker Pro 13.0v5, *FileMaker, Inc.:* http://www.filemaker.com (2015).

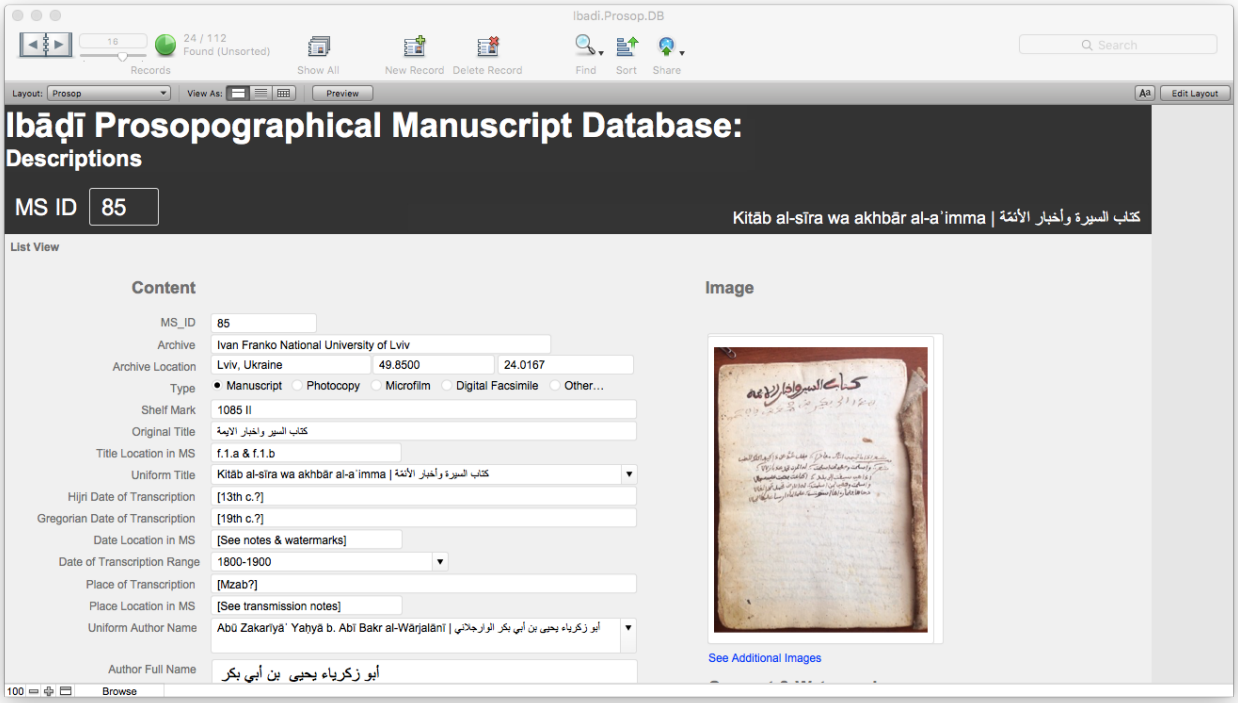


**Figure 28: A screenshot of a sample entry from the Manuscript Description component of the database.**

(2) Support and Watermarks. This component of the database assigned a separate identification number (SW_ID) to each type of support that makes up each manuscript (Figure 29). So, for example, if a manuscript comprises three different kinds of paper it has three separate entries for its support and watermarks. Each of these entries is, in turn, linked to a single manuscript identification number (MS_ID). This section is almost entirely based on physical features of the manuscripts.

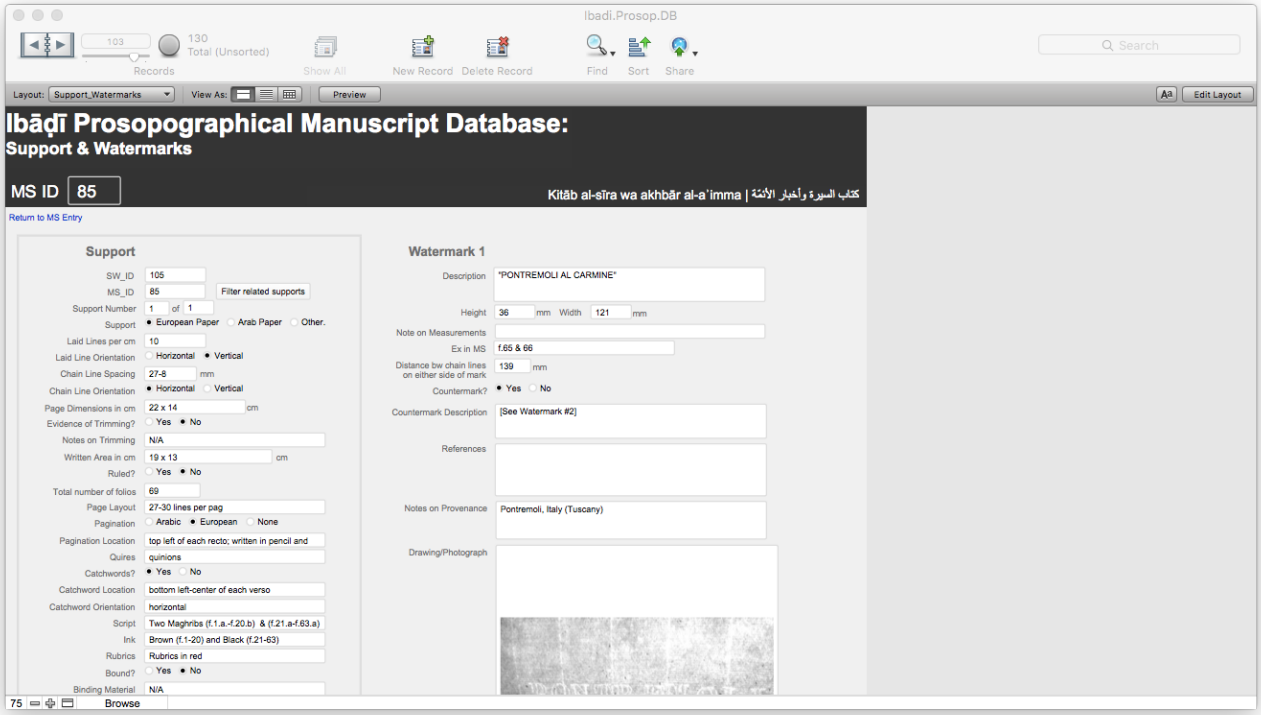


Figure 29: A screenshot of a sample entry from the Support and Watermarks component of the database.

(3) Images. A third component of the database was designed for images, in order to store 1-5 different images of each manuscript in the corpus. These images are of relatively low quality and mainly serve to demonstrate features described in the other two parts of the database. This third component also assigned an image identification number (Image_ID) to each manuscript to allow cross-references with each manuscript identification number (MS_ID).

Whenever possible, I examined each manuscript through autopsy. In some cases, however, accessing the physical manuscript was not possible and so I was forced to rely on digital facsimile,

microfilm, or simply a catalog entry. For these reasons, the data relating to supports and watermarks are sometimes less complete than the manuscript descriptions on the corpus-wide level.

The design and implementation of the database structure owe much to the manuscript description form developed by Adam Gacek in his *Vademecum.*[387] In addition, I based the watermark description component on various print and online catalogs of watermarks.[388] My intention was to produce a collection of watermarks that could be of use to specialists in filigranology outside the disciplinary confines of Islamic Studies.

**Counting the Corpus**

Over two different periods of fieldwork (the first in the summer of 2013 and the second from September to December 2015), I personally examined as many extant copies of the five prosopographical works as possible in the repositories and libraries described above. For various reasons, I was forced at other times to rely either on either catalog entries or digital facsimiles for manuscripts (especially those copies originally housed in Poland, Egypt, the Netherlands, and Oman).

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[387] See "Appendix V: Describing the Manuscript" in Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts a Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 333–38.

[388] These include: William A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, and France Etc. in the 17th and 18th Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and Co., 1935); Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950); Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facisimile of the 1907 ed. with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars.*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968). More specifically, I have prepared watermark images and descriptions to conform to the standards set by online databases assembled in the *Piccard Watermark Collection* (http://www.piccard-online.de) and the catalog of *Bernstein: The Memory of Paper* (http://www.memoryofpaper.eu) and I hope to upload the watermark inventory from the database to the latter in the near future.

My fieldwork resulted in a database of 112 copies of *siyar* texts, with the majority of descriptions based on manuscripts rather than facsimiles (Figure 30).

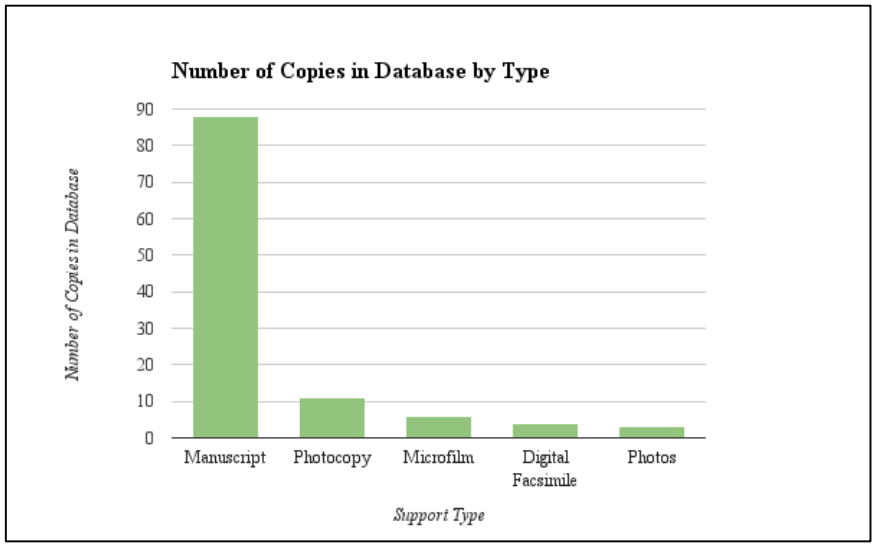


**Figure 30: This chart depicts the breakdown of the 112 copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies represented in the database according to the support/medium on which each entry is based.**

The next figure shows the chronological distribution of these manuscripts (Figure 31) based on dated colophons, watermark evidence, or both. The majority of manuscripts that survive are, not surprisingly, some of the newest. At the same time, the large numbers that survive from the 16th through the 18th centuries represent key developments in the early modern history of Maghribi Ibāḍī communities. The next chapter explores the significance of this chronological distribution in detail. The oldest copy of an Ibāḍī prosopography in the database is a manuscript of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt,* dated 8 Ṣafar 752 (28 January 1357).[389]

[389] MS 8 *thā'*, *Makt. al-Quṭb,* (Benisguen, Algeria).

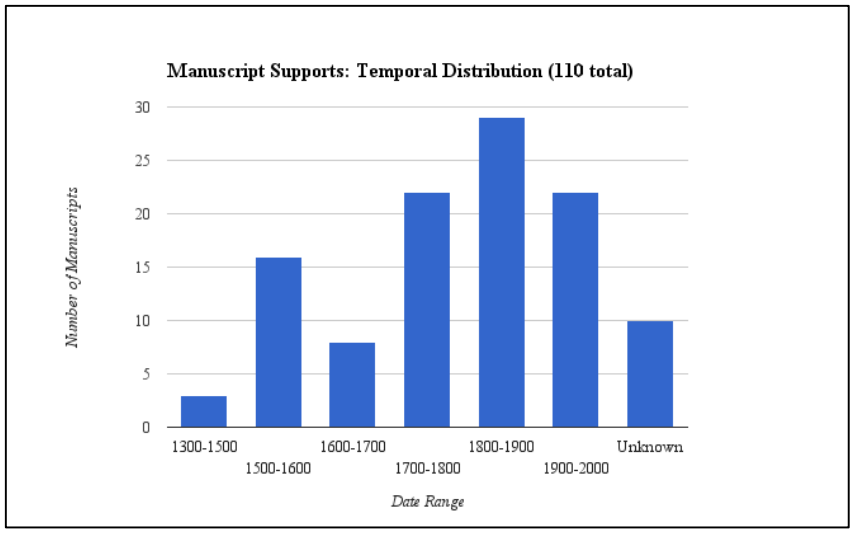


**Figure 31: Graph depicting the temporal distribution of the manuscripts. Dating was based on a combination of (in the best of cases) data drawn from colophons, copyist information, other paratextual features, and watermark analysis.**

For instances in which I personally examined the manuscript, I compiled codicological data from each copy (i.e., data relating to both paratexts and the physical features of the manuscript) including:

- Laid and chain line measurements (when applicable)
- Page dimensions, layout, and dimensions of written area
- Total number of folia
- Systems of pagination/quire numbering; catchwords
- Type of script
- Ink color and rubrics
- Binding features (materials, boards, sewing, repairs, etc.)
- Marginal comments and corrections
- Statements and seals of ownership, sale, purchase, and endowment

In some cases, neither the watermarks nor the paratexts of a manuscript led me to a precise date or even a general range. This was especially the case for a handful of copies from the Mzab valley. Fortunately, the team of Algerian specialists in paleography who carried out the cataloging of these collections was often able to identify the handwriting of specific copyists or, more generally, regional

'schools' of handwriting for manuscripts transcribed in the Mzab.[390] As a result, the catalogers were often able to offer a proposed date range for many undated manuscripts. For those copies with date ranges that I was able to examine personally, watermark evidenced corroborates the dates proposed by the catalogers.

The examination of watermarks proved to be among the more rewarding elements of this survey of the prosopographical corpus. In many cases, watermarks helped provide an approximate date for the manuscripts in the absence of a colophon or other indications. The results of the watermark survey arranged according to motif are in the final graph (Figure 32).

| | |
|---|---|
| Anchor | 6 |
| Animal (Horse, Bull, Bird) | 6 |
| Coat of Arms / Crest | 6 |
| Cross | 9 |
| Crown | 4 |
| Crown, Star, Crescent | 4 |
| "D" in triangle | 5 |
| Flower | 1 |
| Hand / Glove | 2 |
| Letters (excluding Trefoil marks) | 33 |
| Name | 3 |
| Pilgrim | 4 |
| Shield with moon face inside | 4 |
| Star | 2 |
| Sun | 1 |
| Sunwheel | 1 |
| Three crescents with faces | 7 |
| Tre Lune | 41 |
| Trefoil (with or without letters) | 11 |
| No Visible Watermarks | 13 |
| Unidentified | 1 |

**Figure 32: Table of watermarks in the database listed by number of occurrence according to principal motif and totaling 152 separate watermarks. The table lists 'primary' watermarks and their countermarks separately and does not include 'twin' watermarks. The appearance of certain marks together often helped narrow down the date range of transcription and the geographic provenance of the paper itself.**

[390] Preliminary efforts to organize a dictionary of copyist and samples of their handwritings have been published in the catalog of the writings of Shaykh Amuḥammad Aṭfayyish held in the Maktabat al-Quṭb library in Benisguen: *Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat mu'allafāt al-shaykh al-'allāma Amuḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish al-Yasjanī al-shahīr bi-l-quṭb* (Ghardaia: Maktabat al-Quṭb, 2013).

The two most prominent motifs, the 'Tre Lune' (Three-crescent) and combinations of letters, are hardly surprising. The prevalence of the first (41 occurrences) is an expected feature of any manuscript collection in Western or Northern Africa and the second (33 occurrences) represents one of the most common types of countermarks in European-made papers. Specific instances and especially combinations of marks help identify major centers of paper production whose merchants sold in Ibāḍī markets, or at least those markets where Ibāḍī merchants traded. Chapter 7 explores what these marks reveal about paper production and the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition in the Maghrib.

**Figure 33: Geographic distribution of copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographical texts as of late 2015. This concentration reflects the history of Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa and the Mediterranean in the 19th and 20th centuries.**

Finally, the geographic distribution of the Ibāḍī prosopographical manuscripts in the present day also reflects the much more recent history of Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries (Figures 33 and 34). Combining this geographic distribution with the temporal data on the supports themselves likewise reflects the long-term contours of Ibāḍī history in the region discussed below in Chapter 8.

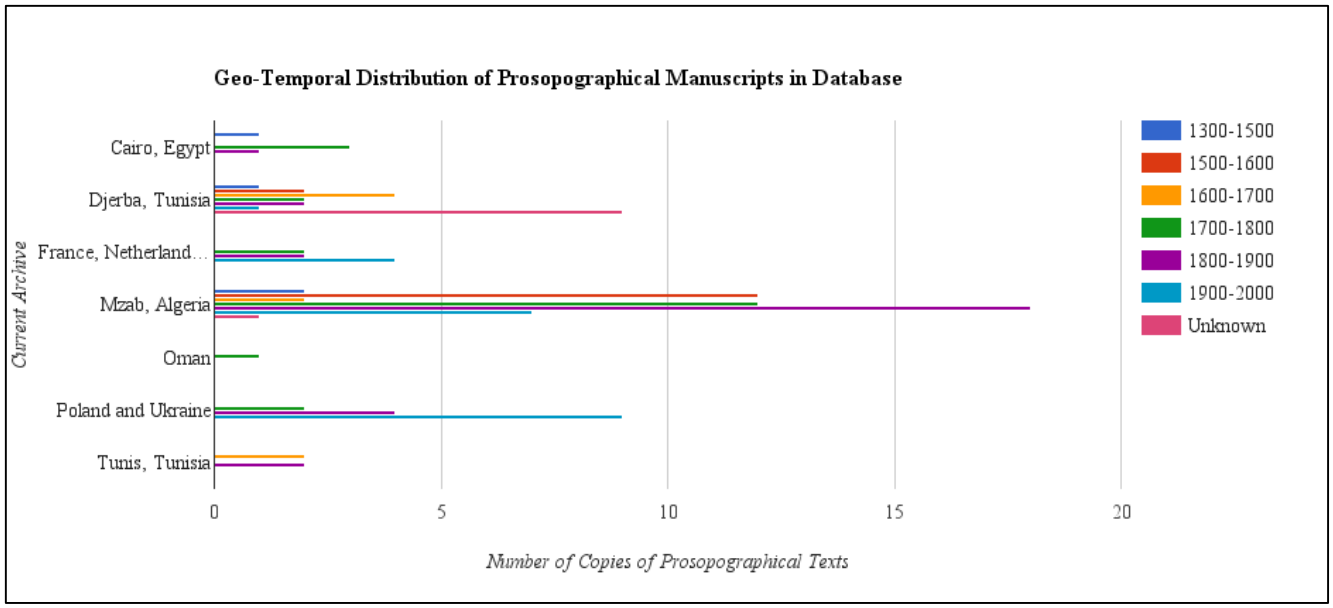


**Figure 34: This chart shoes the geo-temporal distribution of manuscripts in the database, which helps provide some sense of the collections in each region.**

## Conclusion

The above graphs, along with additional information compiled in the database, carry significant implications for the material history of the Northern African Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus that the next two chapters will explore. While the database reflects only the extant copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographical texts under examination here, the centrality of these texts in the history of the construction and maintenance of the Ibāḍī written network will help draw larger conclusions about the history of Ibāḍī communities, the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition in the Maghrib, and the place of Ibāḍīs in the broader history of the paper trade in the Mediterranean.

# Chapter 7:
# Paper and People

Ibāḍī Manuscript Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern Northern Africa

**Introduction**

In addition to the texts themselves, each manuscript in the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus carries indications as to how Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib created, copied, and used these books in their everyday lives. The manuscripts carry the potential of explaining how and why they were made, read, moved around, or gifted. Using examples drawn from the manuscript copies of the prosopographies, this chapter draws a picture of Ibāḍī manuscript culture and practices by focusing on their physical characteristics and paratexts. It begins by considering the first component of any manuscript, the paper, and where it came from. The following sections explore the culture of making and using manuscripts at different moments in the history of Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa from the 14th to the 20th centuries. In addition, the chapter highlights the ways in which Ibāḍī manuscript culture belonged to the broader Arabic manuscript tradition.

**The Ibāḍī Manuscript Tradition in the Late Medieval Maghrib: Background**

In the history of the paper trade in the medieval Mediterranean, few developments can claim the centrality of the trade in watermarked paper produced by Italian papermakers. The development of

the paper and printing industry, which accompanied Italy's rapid rise to dominance of the Mediterranean paper trade, has been discussed elsewhere.[391] Already by the 11th century, Italian merchants begun to integrate themselves into larger trade networks centered in Fatimid Egypt and elsewhere in Northern Africa.[392] Ibāḍī scholars did not decide all of a sudden to start writing on European papers in the 14th and 15th centuries. By then, a long history of exchange already existed between the Northern African littoral and the Italian peninsula, and by the time Italian merchants added watermarked paper to their list of goods for sale or exchange in Northern African ports like Tunis, Tripoli, and Alexandria in the 13th and 14th centuries, they had developed strong relationships with Maghribi traders. Likewise, as discussed in previous chapters, evidence from the Cairo Geniza demonstrates that infrastructure for the sale and purchase of manuscript components like paper and leather had been in place at least since the 11th century.

The intellectual and commercial hubs of the late Hafsid and early Ottoman eras (14th-16th centuries) in the Maghrib—cities like Tunis, Tripoli, and Cairo via Alexandria—are the most likely candidates for the initial points of entry to the Maghrib for Italian and other European-made papers in the medieval centuries. For example, the itineraries of two Venetian ships from the late 15th century illustrate the importance of these cities of the Northern African littoral as points of contact between the two shores of the Mediterranean (Figures 35 and 36). Ibāḍī students and scholars, like their

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391 As a starting point, see discussion and references in "The Transfer of Paper and Papermaking to Christian Europe" in Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 202–13. The Institut d'Histoire du Livre also offers a number of excellent annotated bibliographies on the history of handmade paper. On the rise of the Italians, see "Paper and watermarks as bibliographical evidence" under 'Online Resources' at http://ihl.enssib.fr [accessed 13 January 2016]. For late medieval and early-modern Venetians, whose papers permeated every corner of Northern Africa, the paper trade was tied to a booming industry in printing. See Linda L. Carroll, "Venetian Literature and Publishing" in Eric Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, 2013, 615–50.

392 Romney David Smith, "Calamity and Transition: Re-Imagining Italian Trade in the Eleventh-Century Mediterranean," *Past and Present* 228, no. 1 (2015): 15–56.

contemporaries in the late medieval and early modern Maghrib, both studied and conducted business in these hubs along the littoral. The actors and compilers of the medieval prosopographies were constantly on the move and their later coreligionists were no different.

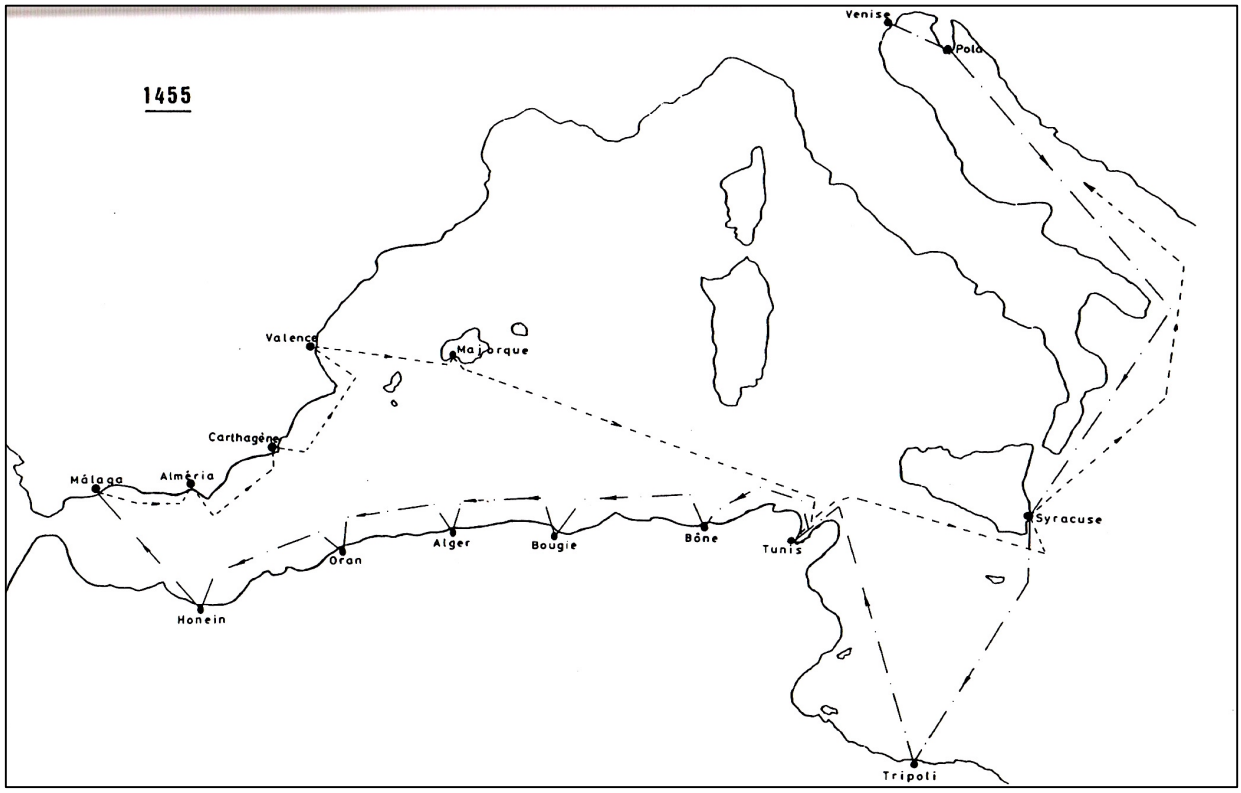


**Figure 35: A proposed trading itinerary for a Venetian ship in 1455 demonstrating the place of Tunis and Tripoli on the ship routes connecting the Italian peninsula to the Maghribi littoral and the Iberian coast. Source: Bernard Doumerc, *Venise et l'émirat hafside de Tunis* (1231-1535), 245.**

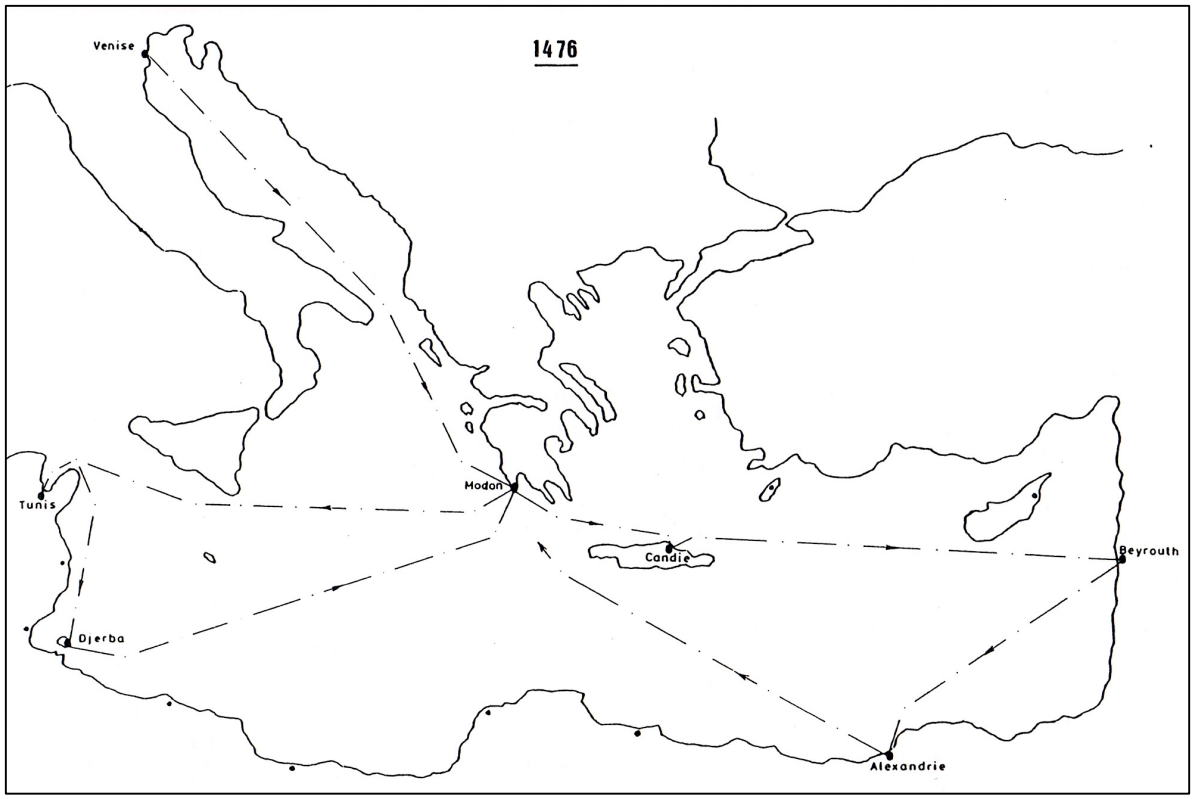


**Figure 36: The proposed trading itinerary of the Venetian ship *Trafego* in 1476, demonstrating the commercial links between the central Maghribi littoral (including Tunis and Jarba) and the eastern Mediterranean. Bernard Doumerc, *Venise et l'émirat hafside de Tunis* (*1231-1535*), 249.**

The author of the last of the medieval prosopographies, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī, for example, studied in late 15th-century Tunis where the Hafsids had already for centuries making (and re-making) trade agreements with various Italian city-states.[393] He and Ibāḍī scholars like him would also have visited the island of Jarba, where Venetian traders had been active since at least the 14th century.[394] His Ibāḍī coreligionists living in coastal Tripolitania worked in a region that had long served as a gateway, both by land and sea, for traders, pilgrims, and armies moving between Egypt and

[393] The most thoroughly traced relationship was that between the Venetians and the Hafsids, on which see: Doumerc, *Venise et l'émirat hafside de Tunis* (*1231-1535*). More generally, see the discussion of Italian traders in North Africa in Chapter 2.

[394] Bernard Doumerc, "Les relations commerciales entre Djerba et la Republique de Venise à la fin du Moyen-Âge," *Actes du Colloque sur l'histoire de Jerba*, (Tunis, 1982), 36-45.

the Maghrib. Finally, both the older (11th c.) and newer settlements (15th c.) of the Mzab valley benefited from regular traffic of caravans moving goods including not only gold, slaves, and ostrich feathers but also paper between Western and Northern Africa.[395] Suffice it to say that when high quality Italian papers began making their way to Northern African markets from the at least the 14th century onwards, Ibāḍīs stood well poised to purchase them either directly from the Italians or through Maghribi intermediaries.

The extant manuscript copies of the prosopographical corpus help provide concrete examples of where the papers Ibāḍīs purchased came from as well as how and why the used them to make manuscript books. Using specific examples as well as corpus-wide characteristics, the following sections describe the world of Ibāḍī scholars, copyists, readers, and audiences in Northern Africa through the late medieval and early modern periods and into the 20th century.

**Ibāḍī Manuscript Production and Circulation from the 14th to the 16th centuries**

The earliest surviving copies of the prosopographies draw a picture of the world of the movement of these texts and their uses. In addition, the paratexts of these older copies of the prosopographies hint at the production and circulation of their exemplars, which disappeared centuries ago.

Of the 19 copies of the prosopographies dating to the 16th century or earlier, only three likely date from before 1500.[396] The oldest extant copy of an Ibāḍī prosopography is of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, dated 7 Ṣafr 758/ 28 January 1357. Fortunately, this oldest copy is also one of the most

[395] Yaḥyā Burās, "Al-ḥayyāt al-fikriyya bi minṭaqat al-mīzāb fī-l-qarnayn 9-10/15-16," *El Minhāj* 2 (2013), 98-9.
[396] Makt. Āl Faḍl MS dāl ghayn 015 (dated 5 Dhū al-qaʿda 883 / 29 January 1479); Makt. Al-Quṭb MS *thāʾ* 8 (dated 7 Ṣafr 758/ 28 January 1357); Makt. Bin Yaʿqūb MS *qāf* 65 (dated late 15th c., based on watermark evidence).

informative. The early date given in the colophon, corroborated by the watermarks of two circles under a cross [397] and a bull,[398] places the manuscript at less than a century from the lifetime of its compiler al-Darjīnī, (d. circa 670/1271-72). It also dates the copy around the lifetime of al-Barrādī (d. early 15th c.), who in his *Kitāb al-jawāhir* noted that he had seen only two copies of al-Darjīnī's work.[399] Following the explicit, this copy of the *Ṭabaqāt* also bears a collation statement—embedded in the colophon and in the copyist's hand[400]—noting that it was both read aloud and collated (*ʿūriḍa wa qūbila*) with an additional copy. Taken together, these physical and paratextual features of the manuscript carry several important implications.

First of all, this mid-14th century manuscript represents at once the oldest copy of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* and the oldest extant reference in the prosopographical corpus to its predecessor, the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-aʾimma.* The collation statement also speaks to the existence of an additional copy of the *Ṭabaqāt* with which this manuscript could be compared. Likewise, the collation statement tells us that Maghribi Ibāḍī scholars read works aloud (either to a scholar who had memorized the work or to another person who was comparing an additional copy) and collated the manuscripts.[401] This practice of collation and one of the formulae that accompany it (*ūriḍa wa qūbilā*) were common practice in contemporary communities in 14th-century Egypt and Syria. While they may not have had

[397] E.g., f.97; This version of the watermark is commonly associated with 13th century Italian mills. See: Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1968, 1:213–14. Compare 3155-3174 in the same volume.
[398] E.g., f.150. This mark is not as easily dated. Briquet did not offer any very close matches but in his discussion of bull watermarks, he suggests this variation of the 'fat bull' ('boeuf gras') is of Italian provenance (See "Boeuf simple ou taureau,"2:195-6). The only 'fat bull' marks in Briquet (2767-2770), however, date primarily to the early 15th century.
[399] al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*, 3.
[400] The collation statement inside the colophon, for examples, suggests that it was not added at a later stage. Collation statements appear regularly in other copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies but in hands other than those of the copyists and without any indication of *when* they were made.
[401] On descriptions of these practices see Chapter 2.

formalized texts and audition statements similar to their Ayyubid and Mamluk contemporaries,[402] this early copy of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* bearing a standardized formula for collation suggests that medieval Ibāḍī scholars followed the conventions of manuscript practices current elsewhere both in the Maghrib and throughout the central Islamic lands. This, in turn, connects Ibāḍī manuscript practices to the broader Arabic manuscript tradition of the medieval period.

Finally, although the Maghribi script of this copy suggests that this copy was transcribed in Northern Africa,[403] the collation statement unfortunately does not indicate in which region. Nevertheless, the manuscript's "two circles under a cross" watermarks, which are primarily associated with 14th-century Italian paper mills, point to the use of Italian papers in Maghribi Ibāḍī communities as early as the 1350s. Regardless of where in the Maghrib it was transcribed, this manuscript provides a documented example of the broader trend toward the use of Italian watermarked papers in the Maghrib in the medieval centuries. Another of the pre-1500 manuscripts of the prosopographies, an addition copy of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* from the Sālim b. Yaʿqūb library, also bears a watermark associated primarily with Italian mills.[404] This manuscript, currently housed in Jarba but which would

[402] On which see Konrad Hirschler, "Reading certificates (*samāʿāt*) as a prosopographical source: Cultural and social practices of an elite family in Zangid and Ayyubid Damascus" in Görke and Hirschler, *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, 73–92.

[403] Maghribi script often helps locate a place of transcription within the region but scholars and students moved around a lot and it is certainly no guarantee of the copyist's origin. In addition, 'Maghribi' scripts continue to escape classification. See discussion and references in "Maghribi and African scripts" in Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts a Vademecum for Readers*, 223.

[404] Makt. Ben Yaʿqūb, MS *qāf* 65. The watermark is of a crown with a cross above it. In general, this mark is very widespread in terms of both time and space. This specific version of the watermark, however, Briquet associated with 15th century Italian mills. Cf. nos. 4645 and 4546 in Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facisimile of the 1907 ed. with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars.*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968). See also no.987 (dated 1473) in Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*.

have come from either Tripolitania or Egypt,[405] helps reinforce the importance of Italian papers to late medieval Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa.

The remaining 16 copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies (representing 11 different volumes) that likely date prior to 1600, expand the details of Ibāḍī manuscript practice and refine the picture of the paper trade in this period.[406] First of all, the geographic distribution of transcriptions deserves consideration. All but two copies were probably transcribed during the mid-to-late 15th century in the Mzab valley in what is today Algeria. The remaining two, a fragment of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* and a copy of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, which can only be dated to the 16th century by using watermark evidence, are currently found in the Bārūnī library in Jarba.[407] Assuming they are like most manuscripts from that collection, they would have come to Jarba in the 19th century from Libya or, less likely, from Egypt.[408]

The growing intellectual centrality of the Mzab in the 15th and 16th centuries alongside the traditional hubs of the Jabal Nafūsa and the island of Jarba finds its symbolic beginning in the journey made by Jarban émigré Saʿīd b. ʿAlī al-Khayrī (d.1521) to the Mzab from Jarba. Invited to visit the Mzab by a delegation of students who had studied under him in Jarba, "'Ammī" Saʿīd ultimately chose to settle permanently in that region.[409] The Ibāḍī historical tradition regards his arrival as a turning point for the region, bringing it out of a period of 'ignorance' and into the fold of Ibāḍī Islam. Saʿīd had also

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[405] On the Bin Yaʿqūb family library in Jarba, see Chapter 8 below.
[406] Makt. al-Ḥājj Saʿīd, MS *dāl ghayn* 23; Makt. al-Istiqāma, MSS 118 and 120 (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*), MS *alif* 99 (*al-khizāna al-thāniya*); Makt. al-Ḥājj Bābakr, MS 27; Makt. al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿalī, MS *mīm* 186; Makt. 'Ammī Saʿīd (*al-khizāna al-ʿāmma*), MS *mīm* 63; Makt. Bārūnī, MSS 81 and 82; Dār al-Kutub (Egypt) MS *ḥāʾ* 10418; Ivan Franko MS 1055 I [photograph].
[407] Makt. Bārūnī MSS 81 and 82.
[408] On the Barouni family library of Jarba, see Chapter 8 below.
[409] On 'Ammī Saʿīd and the 15th/16th century Mzāb see: Yaḥyā Burās, "Al-ḥayyāt al-fikriyya bi minṭaqat al-mīzāb fī-l-qarnayn 9-10/15-16," *El Minhāj* 2 (2013), .

studied with one of the Ibāḍī luminaries of his lifetime in Jarba, Abū al-Najāt Yūnis b. Saʿīd al-Taʿārītī (d. 16th c.), who had himself been a pupil of Abū al-Qāsim al-Barrādī's son ʿAbdallāh (d. after 1431) and another famous scholar of the period, Abū al-Qāsim Zakarīyāʾ b. Aflaḥ al-Ṣidghiyānī (d. 1498).[410] Just as Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakr had established the historical links between different Ibāḍī communities in the 11th century, so too would ʿAmmī Saʿīd would later be regarded as having revived Ibāḍism in the Mzab and connected it to Jarba. Over the course of his life, he taught many important Ibāḍī scholars, copied numerous manuscripts, and founded a manuscript library in Ghardaia. Known today as the 'Dār Irwān,' this library remains a rich and fascinating archive.[411] His life and career reflect the ongoing relationship between Ibāḍī communities in Jarba and the Mzab valley and the latter's growing centrality in the Ibāḍī intellectual networks of the early modern and modern periods.

In addition to demonstrating the growing importance of the Mzab valley, these 16th-century copies of the prosopographies also carry watermarks that taken together point to the continuing dominance of Italian papers in the central and eastern Maghrib. The version of the "Pilgrim (Pèlerin)" watermark found on the paper of five copies (in three volumes) is associated with mid-to-late-16th century Lombardy and Genoa.[412] The Tre Lune watermark, the provenance of which normally escapes identification,[413] fortunately appears in a volume carrying a second support bearing a watermark of a

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[410] Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 1:496–97.

[411] Ibid., 1:182–83. On his manuscript legacy and the endowed library he left behind, see Ibrāhīm b. Bakīr Baḥḥāz, ed., *Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat Dār al-talāmīdh* (*Irwān*) *bi-jāmiʿ ghardāya al-kabīr* (Ghardaia: Muʾassasat al-Shaykh ʿAmmī Saʿīd, 2009).

[412] Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1968, 2:415.

[413] The well-known catalog of Tre Lune watermarks by A. Velkov does provide some guidance, but the only real way to date this mark roughly is with a clear and specific countermark. Walz notes the ubiquity of the Tre Lune mark in Northern and Western Africa in his article on the paper trade of Egypt and the Sudan: Terence Walz, "The Paper Trade of Egypt and the Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and Its Re-Export to the Bilād as-Sūdān," *Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa.*, 2011, 73–107.

10-petal flower associated with mills in 16th-century Lombardy.[414] The marks of a Greek cross in an oval,[415] the anchor, a curved letter "M,"[416] and a specific version of the famous "Bull's Head" with a cross above it are all likewise associated with 16th-century Italian mills.[417] The provenance of other marks, such as the hand/glove with a flower or star[418] or a single letter 'P'[419] are far more ambiguous.

In addition to confirming the centrality of the Mzab valley in the manuscript network of the 16th century and the continued dominance of Italian merchants in the paper trade in Northern Africa, the paratexts of these manuscript copies of the prosopographies shed light on the world of late medieval Ibāḍī manuscript culture. One especially detailed colophon from a copy of the *Kitāb al-sīra* (Figure 37), dated 4 Dhū al-Qaʿada 982 / 15 February 1575, provides a number of fascinating details relating to the prosopographies and manuscript production:

[414] Makt. al-Ḥājj Maʿsūd Bābakr, MS 27, f.37 (and 'twins' on f.9 and 10); See also "Fleur à 10 pétales" in Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1968, 2:375. For similar marks see nos. 6617-6627 in the same volume.
[415] Makt. al-Istiqāma (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*), MS 118, f. 112. Briquet argued that, in general, the Greek cross was primarily of Italian provenance. The Italian origin of this version of the mark is supported by the 'Pilgrim' mark appearing in the same text on f.2. See "Croix grecque" in Briquet, *Les Filigranes,* 2:315.
[416] Makt. ʿAmmī Saʿīd (*al-khizāna al-ʿāmma*), MS *mīm* 63, f.91; Cf. no. 8401 in Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, vol.3.
[417] Makt. al-Bārūnī, MS 81, f. 14and15. See "II. Tête de bœuf à yeux" in Briquet, *Les Filigranes,* vol. 4; Cf. no. 14.523 in the same volume.
[418] Makt. al-Istiqāma (*al-khizāna al-thāniya*), MS *alif* 99, f.34and37.
[419] Makt. al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿalī, MS *mīm* 186, f.30. Cf. no. 8493, 8494, and 8499 in Briquet, *Les Filigranes,* vol. 3.

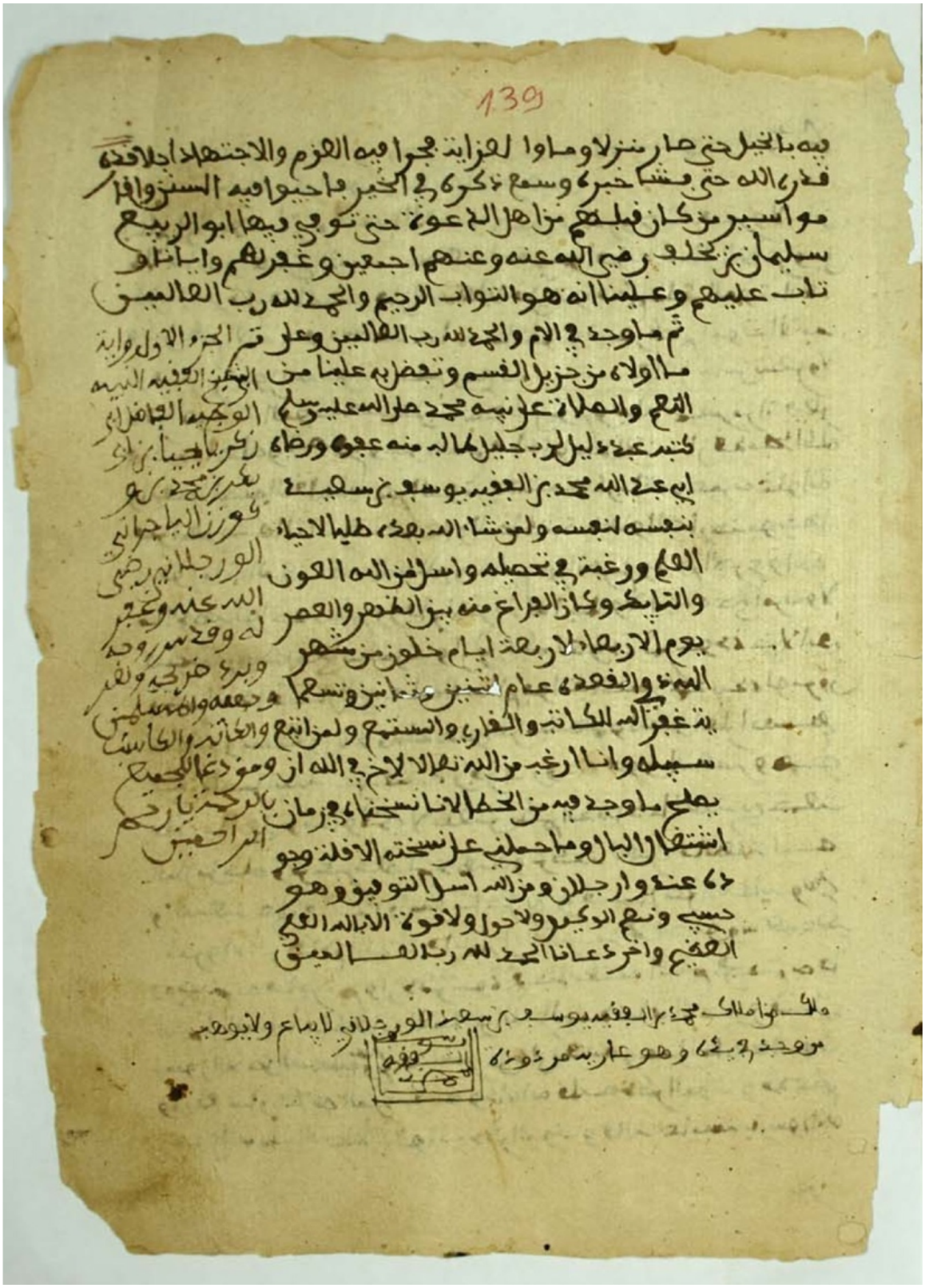

Figure 37: Colophon from Makt. al-Istiqāma MS 181, f.70.a.

ثم ما وجد في الام والحمد لله رب العالمين وعلى ما اولاه من من جزيل القسم وتفضل به علينا من النعم والصلاة على نبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم كتبه عبد [ذ]ليل لرب جليل طالب منه عفوه ورضاه ابي عبد الله محمد بن الفقيه يوسف بن سعيد بنفسه لنفسه ولمن شاء الله بعده طلبا لاحياء العلم ورغبة في تحصيله واسل من الله العون والتاييد وكان الفراغ منه بين الظهر والعصر يوم الاربعاء لاربعة ايام خلون من شهر الله ذي القعدة عام اثنين وثمانين وتسعماية غفر الله للكاتب والقاري والمتسمع ولمن اتبع سبيله وانا ارغب من الله تعالا لاخ في الله ان يصلح ما وجد فيه من الخطا لانا نسخناه في زمان اشتغال البال وما حملني على نسخته الا قلة وجوده عند وارجلان ومن الله اسل التوفيق وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم واخر دعانا الحمد لله رب العالمين

> So ends what was found in the exemplar. Praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds…Transcribed by a servant, lowly before a majestic Lord and seeking from Him His forgiveness and His contentment, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad son of the jurist Yūsuf b. Saʿīd [transcribing it] by himself and for himself and for whomsoever God should desire after him seeking the revivification of knowledge and desiring to achieve it. And I beseech God for His aid and support. The transcription was completed between the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* [prayers] on [the day of] *al-Arbiʿā'* when four days had elapsed from God's month *Dhū al-Qaʿda* 982 [Tuesday, the 15th of February 1575]. May God forgive the copyist, the reader, and the listener and whomsoever follows His path. I beseech God that a brother in God may correct whatever errors he may find [in the manuscript] because we copied it at a time of mental preoccupation and the only thing that induced me to transcribe it was [the book's] rarity in Warjalān…[420]

The first striking feature of this colophon is that the copyist asks God for the forgiveness of three different people: the copyist (*al-kātib*), the reciter (*al-qārī*), and the listener (*al-mustamiʿ*). This short invocation emphasizes that the subsequent uses of this manuscript would have involved someone reading it aloud before an audience. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the prosopographies themselves described the oral collation of texts and the recitation of texts before an audience of students —at times with the assistance of a translator—and hearing, reciting, and memorizing the *athār* was a central component of any student's education. A reciter (and his listeners) could also have been present at the time of copying. The copying of texts, however, did not always need to be a public affair. Another copyist transcribing the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* in the Mzab a few decades earlier had noted

[420] Makt. al-Istiqāma, MS 118 (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*), f.70.a.

that he was carrying out his own transcription based on another copy riddled with errors,[421] which probably means he was copying it from a written version rather than an audition.

The copyist of the colophon quoted above also makes a remarkable indication regarding both his reason for making the copy and his mood when he transcribed the text. He warns the reader to be on the lookout for errors and asks him to correct them, noting that he made the copy during "a time of mental preoccupation (*zamān ishtighāl al-bāl*)" and that he only did it because of the rarity of the *Kitāb al-sīra* in the city of Wārjalān. Although the copyist does not mention where he made the transcription (likely in the Mzab valley), this statement indicates that he resided in Wārjalān and that copies of the work were unusual there that in the late 16th century.

According to a later colophon in the volume, the copyist continued to transcribe despite his personal preoccupations. This second text following that of the *Kitāb al-sīra* in the same volume represents the third of three sections associated with the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* manuscript tradition entitled "On the subject of death (*fī dhikr al-mawt*)."[422] The significance of this short text lies in the copyist's choice to transcribe it alone, rather than transcribe the entirety of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. Regardless of whether he copied the text from an exemplar containing only this section or simply decided to copy only this final chapter, the inclusion of this section points to the independent circulation of portions of the Ibāḍī prosopographies. The tendency of historians to view manuscript copies like these as 'incomplete' ignores the widespread tradition of circulating portions of these texts and combining sections of them within one and the same bound volume. This particular volume, for

[421] Text reads: "*ghayr annī nasakhtuhu min nuskha fīhā mā fīhā min al-taṣḥīf….*" Makt. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿlī , MS *mīm* 186, f.97.a (dated 23 Shaʿbān 956/15 September 1549).
[422] Makt. al-Istiqāma , MS 118 (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*), f.77.b (dated 5 Dhū al-qaʿda 982/ 16 February 1575).

example, also contains *responsa* from two different Ibāḍī scholars,[423] whose texts—thanks to their juxtaposition alongside the *siyar*—carry physical and symbolic connections with the earlier generations of scholars described in the prosopography.

An ownership statement located just below the colophon of the *Kitāb al-sīra* in this same manuscript also contains the earliest example in the prosopographical manuscript corpus of a loan statement (Figure 38). The statement reads:

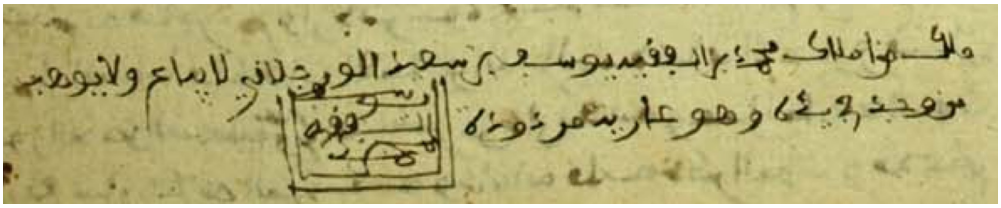

**Figure 38: Ownership statement from Makt. al-Istiqāma MS 181, f.70.a.**

ملك من املاك محمد بن الفقيه يوسف بن سعيد الورجلاني لا يباع ولا يوهب من وجد في يده وهو عارية مردودة

> Property of Muḥammad, son of the jurist Yūsuf b. Saʿīd al-Wārjalānī. Not to be sold or gifted. Whoever finds [it] in his possession, [should note that] it is a loan [and should be] returned[424]

Loan statements like this one, common in later centuries in the Mzab valley,[425] emphasize that manuscript copies of the prosopographies moved around locally among different Ibāḍī scholars and students.

A final feature of this colophon is an additional paratext added in the left hand margin in a different hand (see Figure 37):

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[423] "Jawāb ʿan asʾilat al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Timāsīnī" (f.77.b-f.81.a) and "Jawāb fī nikāḥ al-rajul mazniyatahu" (f.81.b), respectively.

[424] Makt. al-Istiqāma, MS 118, f.70.a.

[425] See discussion below, "Ibāḍī Manuscript Production and Circulation from the Late 16th to the 20th Centuries: The *Wikālat al-jāmūs*."

تم الجزء الأول [لـ]رواية أبي الشيخ...زكريا يحيا بن ابي بكر بن محمد بن وكوزن الياجراني الورجلاني رضي الله عنه وغفر له وقدس روحه...

> So ends the first part of the account of the Shaykh...Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. W[akūzin?] al-Yājrānī al-Warjalānī. May God be pleased with him, forgive him, sanctify his spirit [etc.]...[426]

This paratext, which a collator or reader added at a later date, to my knowledge represents the only known instance in which the name of the attributed author of the *Kitāb al-sīra* appears in full, including both his father's and grandfather's name and the additional *nisba*, al-Yājrānī. This paratext also notes that the colophon marks the end of the first of two parts of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, which by the 14th century circulated independently of one another and which al-Barrādī regarded as two distinct texts.[427]

Another manuscript, a copy of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* currently housed in the *Dār al-kutub* in Cairo,[428] likewise points to the uses of the prosopographies and other Ibāḍī manuscripts in everyday life. The colophon of this manuscript carries the date of late *Jumādā al-awwal* [sic] 996 / April 1588.[429] Although the copyist does not identify himself outright, an ownership statement appears within the colophon and in the copyist's hand, noting that the manuscript belongs to one Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The manuscript also contains several other texts. The variety of these texts, all but one of which is in the same copyist's hand, reveals something about the use of manuscripts like this one:

(1) *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*

[426] Makt. al-Istiqāma, MS 118 (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*), f.70.a
[427] See "Barrādī's Book List" in Chapter 4.
[428] Dār al-Kutub MS *ḥā'* 10418 [microfilm].
[429] Ibid, p. 217 in microfilm.

(2) Responsa of [Abū] Mahdī ʿAysā b. Ismāʿīl to dissenters [*mukhālifīn*]
(3) A Letter to the Ibāḍīs [of the Maghrib] from the people of Oman
(4) A response to a question from the jurist Ismāʿīl, written by the aforementioned ʿAysā
(5) A letter sent by the Shaykh [Abū Mahdī] ʿAysā [b. Ismāʿīl] to the Ibāḍīs of Wārjalān
(6) An announcement of the birth of the son of the manuscript's owner
(7) A fragment from *Sūrat al-baqara*

This variety of contents almost all in a single hand and designated for a single owner,[430] the otherwise unknown Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [al-Maṣʿabī?], serves as a reminder that manuscript books like the prosopographies need not have been bound alone or copied in their entirety. A student or scholar may have compiled a bound volume on the basis of his priorities and interests, without necessarily considering whether the contents of the volume had any relationship with one another.[431] Furthermore, while paper was no doubt a ubiquitous commodity in Northern Africa by the 16th century this does not mean it was cheap for students or scholars. In the absence of royal patronage and scriptoria, the production of the vast majority of Ibāḍī manuscripts produced in the late medieval and early modern periods would have been self-financed—meaning that in most cases every page of a quire was used.[432] The choice to bind (or have bound) various texts into the same volume was probably an economic one before anything else.

Nevertheless, the specific choice of having this copy of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* bound alongside that of the Mzabi scholar Shaykh ʿAysā b. Ismāʿīl again speaks to important changes taking place in the Ibāḍī communities of the 15th and 16th centuries. The life and scholarly activity of ʿAysā b. Ismāʿīl—a student of ʿAmmī Saʿīd in the Mzab—are part of the transformation of the Mzab valley into a hub in

[430] The final text in the volume, a fragment from *Sūrat al-Baqara* (pp. 229-231 in microfilm) is not in the same hand.
[431] Modern examples of this are found in the private library of Sālim b. Yaʿqūb. The majority of bound volumes there were *majmūʿ*s, often made up of texts bearing no relationship in terms of author, time, genre, or theme.
[432] See, however, the discussion of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* below.

the Ibāḍī network from the late medieval centuries forward. This copy of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, dating to around the lifetime of ʿAysā b. Ismāʿīl, speaks to his importance already in the 16th century. The second set of his responsa (presumably from the Mzab) included alongside a letter from Oman also reinforces the importance of paper for establishing connections between different Ibāḍī communities, whether a day's journey to Warjalān or thousands of kilometers away in Oman.[433]

On the micro level, the addition of the birth announcement of the manuscript owner's son to the contents of the *Kitāب al-ṭabaqāt* also provides a rare glimpse into the role of a manuscript in recording important moments in its owner's life (Figure 39).

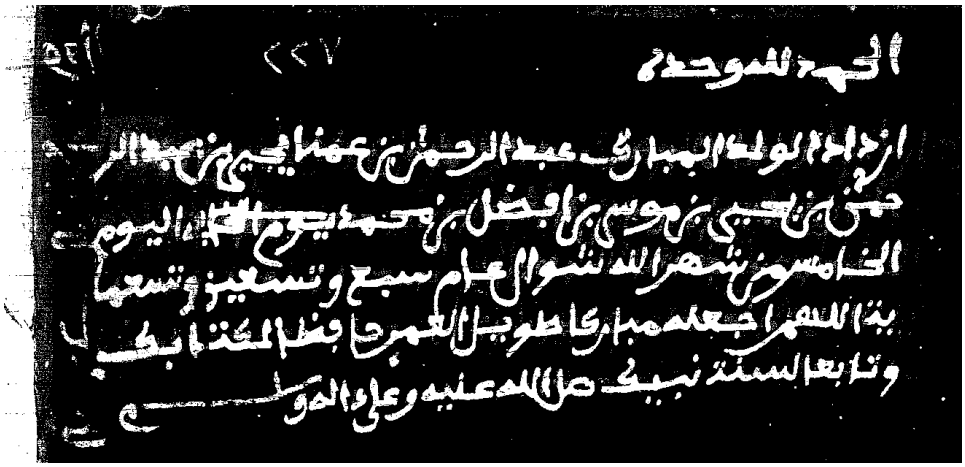

**Figure 39: Birth announcement from Dār al-Kutub MS Ḥā' 10418, f.227.a [folio number from microfilm].**

الحمد لله وحده ازداد الولد المبارك عبد الرحمن بن عمنا يحيى بن عبد الرحمن بن يحيى بن موسى بن افضل بن محمد يوم الـ[ ؟ ] اليوم الخامس من شهر الله شوال عام سبع وتسعين وتسعماية اللهم اجعله مباركا طويل العمر حافظا لكتابك وتابعا لسنة نبيك صلى الله عليه وعلى ءاله وسلم

Praise be to God alone! The blessed boy, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of our uncle Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā b. Afḍal b. Muḥammad, was born on the [ ? ] the fifth of God's month Shawwāl [in] the year 997. O God, make him blessed with long life, a preserver of Your Book, and a follower of the Sunna of Your prophet…[434]

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[433] The historical relationship between pre-Modern Ibāḍī communities in Oman with those of Northern Africa still requires much research. For an overview of the evidence see: Farhat Djaabiri, *ʿAlāqāt ʿumān bi-shimāl ifrīqīyā* (Muscat: al-Maṭābiʿ al-ʿĀlamiyya, 1991).

[434] Dār al-Kutub MS Ḥā' 10418, f.227.a [folio number from microfilm].

Snippets of family histories and genealogies, often included in the margins or extra folios of a manuscript, serve as reminders that like other Arabic texts Ibāḍī books did not exist in isolation but also bore intimate ties to their owners' lives.[435] Likewise, the addition of the birth announcement less than a year after the completion of a the transcription of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* and other texts in the volume remind us that manuscript books speak to the multi-layered histories and diachronic existence of their different users.

Overall, these late medieval copies of the prosopographies provide a window into late medieval manuscript culture in Maghribi Ibāḍī communities and the broader transformations to the Ibāḍī intellectual network of the 15th-16th centuries. The watermarks of these manuscripts serve as witnesses to the initial movement of paper from Italy to Ibāḍī settlements like Jarba, Jabal Nafūsa, Wārjalān, and the Mzab in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The specific paths by which these papers found their way to these places remain unclear. Nevertheless, watermark evidence drawn from these manuscripts emphasizes the integration of these communities into broader networks of trade within the Mediterranean region and their ties with merchants of the Italian peninsula, in particular.

On the local level, the paratexts of these early copies from our corpus of prosopographical manuscripts also reveal late medieval Ibāḍī manuscript practices. Unlike their late Mamlūk or early Ottoman contemporaries, Ibāḍī communities had no official chanceries, no royal artisans, and probably no large local book markets (if for no other reason than because the largest Ibāḍī communities were no larger than small towns). Manuscript production in the villages and towns of

[435] See "History of Manuscripts" in Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts a Vademecum for Readers*, 126–28.

the Mzab, Jarba, or Jabal Nafūsa operated under far more modest and less formalized practices than, say, late medieval Cairo or Damascus. Nevertheless, the fact that students and scholars transcribed and collated these manuscripts according to the practices of their time, including standardized collation formulae, signals that Ibāḍī manuscript practice operated within a much larger late medieval Arabic manuscript tradition. In addition to formalized practices, the paratexts speak to their important role as witnesses and testaments to the everyday lives of the scholars and students, who transcribed, recited, listened to, learned from, and owned them.

Finally, the circulation of these works as well as the variety of titles bound together with the prosopographies suggests an ongoing exchange of knowledge and goods, both by people and by the books themselves, among the different hubs of the Ibāḍī network in Northern Africa. The growing centrality of the Mzab valley alongside the older hub of Jarba, symbolically and physically linked through the figure of ʿAmmī Saʿīd al-Jarbī, marks an important development in the history of Ibāḍī manuscript culture, since from the 15th century onward, it was the Mzab that would begin producing and preserving the largest collections of Ibāḍī manuscripts in Northern Africa.

**Ibāḍī Manuscript Production and Circulation from the Late 16th to the 20th Centuries: The *Wikālat al-jāmūs***

The Mzab did not stand alone, however, as a center for manuscript production. The late 16th century witnessed the establishment of an Ibāḍī *wikāla* in the Ibn Ṭūlūn district of the city of Cairo that left an important mark on the history of the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition in Northern Africa: the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. Founded as a *waqf* by a trader named ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Manṣūr al-Baḥḥār from Ajīm on the

island of Jarba, the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* served as a hub of manuscript production and intellectual exchange from the 17th to the mid-20th century.[436] Although Jarbans and Ibāḍīs more generally had been doing business and traveling through Cairo before the 16th century,[437] the foundation of the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs* in the Ṭūlūn district of that city provided both spiritual and temporal support for Ibāḍīs. The *Wikāla* carried several different names over the three centuries of its existence, but it remained a center for the copying of manuscripts from its beginning to its end.[438] Regularly supported through donations and additional endowments by Ibāḍī traders, students could spend anything from several weeks to several years at the *Wikāla*.[439] The volumes in the library's substantial manuscript collection were copied and recopied, sometimes collectively and in very poor handwriting, by students, either as a way of gaining experience or as a way of financing their studies. Any Ibāḍī who came through Cairo in the early modern period, whether scholars passing through to visit or teach at the mosque of al-Azhar, Maghribi traders doing business in the city, or pilgrims on their way to or from the Ḥijāz, would have stopped at the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs*.

The extant manuscript corpus of the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs,* produced over the course of its the more than four centuries of operation, has left an especially rich collection of details regarding manuscript practice and usage among Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa. The full potential of these manuscript corpora has yet to be realized, however, due in part to the difficulty of accessing the

[436] Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 51; Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 39.
[437] André Raymond, "Tunisiens et Maghrébins au Caire au dix-huitième siècle," *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 7, no. 26–27 (1959): 335–71.
[438] "*Tijārat al-naskh"* in Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 121–23.
[439] See ibid., 221–27 for a list of endowed books.

collections where they are now held.[440] The first point that deserves emphasis is the intimate tie between the Ibāḍī trading diaspora in Cairo and the production of manuscripts. The *Wikālat al-jāmūs* served at once as a hub of intellectual exchange, religious study, manuscript production, and trade.

Copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies from the period of the *Wikāla*'s activity, many of which originated there, reflect its place as a center for manuscript production and provided detailed information on of Ibāḍī manuscript culture in the early modern period. Of the 59 copies of the prosopographies dating from the beginning of the 17th to the end of the 19th century, eight were likely transcribed in the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs.* The earliest of these, a copy of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* written in Maghribi script with a colophon dating it to *Jumādā al-ūlā* 996 [April 1588],[441] is bound together with a table of contents (*fihris*) compiled at a later date and written in *naskh.* While probably not the case with this specific example,[442] the combination of different hands and scripts in many other manuscripts produced at the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* often resulted from several students having transcribed the same manuscript. The mixture of Maghribi and Mashriqi scripts also speaks to a heterogeneous student and scholarly community as well as to the influence of Maghribi students living and studying

[440] Part of the problem lies in the geographic distribution of the many works copied at the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, which are now housed in libraries throughout the Maghrib, Egypt, and Oman. One especially valuable source of information will be the notes of the late Jarban scholar Sālim b. Yaʿqūb, who studied at the *Wikāla* in the first half of the 20th century and made notes on its *waqfs* and library. At the time of writing, his family library in Jarba remained closed to researchers and his notes have not been inventoried.

[441] Dār al-kutub MS *ḥā'* 10418, f.217 [microfilm].

[442] The shelfmark and description of the manuscript notes that it came from the Taymūriyya collection, belonging to Aḥmad Taymūr (d. 1930). In his description of this collection, Amīn Fu'ād Sayyid noted that Taymūr often added a handwritten *fihris* to manuscripts in his possession, which would suggest that the table of contents at the beginning of the present manuscript copy of al-Darjīnī's *Ṭabaqāt* is in his hand rather than that of a student at the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. See Amīn Fu'ād Sayyid, *Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya: tārīkhuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya li l-Kitāb, 1996), 74–75.

in Cairo.[443] The colophon of this manuscript (cited above) also makes it clear that someone (likely a student) copied the manuscript for its new owner.

The colophon of another manuscript, a copy of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* dating to Ramaḍān 1090 [October 1679], makes explicit reference to its having been transcribed in Cairo (Figure 40):

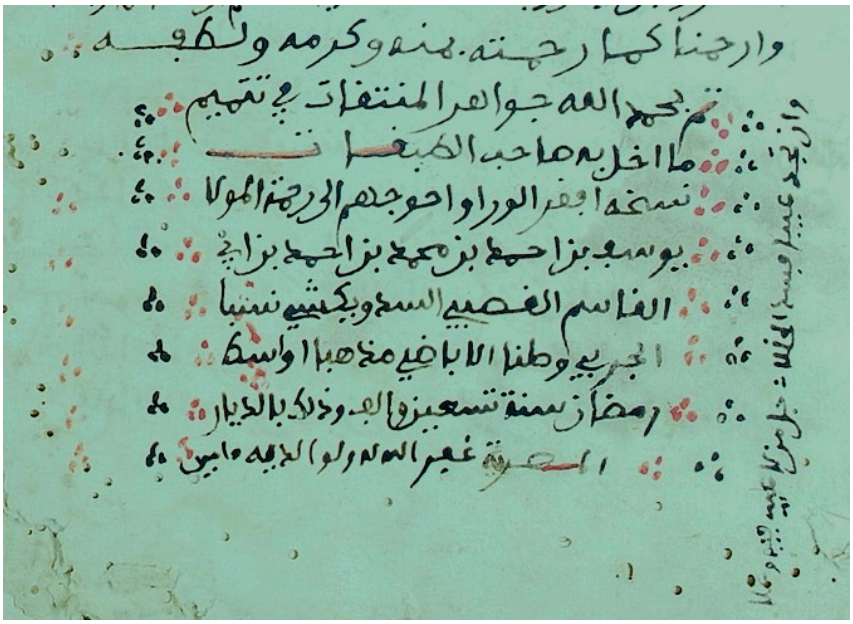

**Figure 40: Colophon from Makt. al-Quṭb MS thā' 1, f.126.b**

تم بحمد لله جواهر المنتقات في تتميم ما اخل به صاحب الطبقات نسخه افقر الورا واحوجهم الى رحمة المولا يوسف بن احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن ابي القاسم القصبي السدويكشي نسبا الجربي وطنا الاباضي مذهبا واسط رمضان سنة تسعين والف وذلك بالديار المصرية غفر الله له ولوالديه امين

> So ends, with praise to God, the *Jawāhir al-muntaqāt*...The poorest and neediest of men, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Qaṣabī al-Sadwīkishī by lineage, al-Jarbī by homeland, al-Ibāḍī by *madhhab* copied it in the middle of Ramaḍān of the year 1090 in the Egyptian abodes (*al-diyār al-miṣriyya*).[444] May God forgive him and his parents, āmīn. [445]

[443] See discussion in Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 120–22.

[444] This phrase often serves in Ibāḍī manuscripts as a stand-in reference to the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* or the Maghrib-dominated Ṭūlūn district.

[445] Makt. al-Quṭb MS *thā'* 1, f.122.b

The story of the manuscript's copyist and his family, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sadwīkishī, was typical of the students and scholars who passed through the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs* in the 17th and 18th centuries. Born in Jarba, his father Aḥmad completed his studies on the island before traveling to Cairo, where he would have resided in the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter and studied under various *shaykh*s at al-Azhar. He later returned to Jarba where he taught at the *al-Ḥāra* mosque until his death in 1651.[446] It was most likely following his father's death that Yūsuf himself then traveled to Cairo, where he took up residence in the same quarter and made this copy of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*. Yūsuf and students like him copied manuscripts at the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs* either for their own personal use or as a means of financing their studies.

Yūsuf's cousin, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Abī Sitta al-Sadwīkish (d.1677)—known as the 'commentator' (*al-muḥashshī*)—also studied in Jarba under his uncle Aḥmad b. Muḥammad before his father sent him to study at al-Azhar in Cairo. He remained there for 28 years, teaching at the *Wikāla* and eventually at al-Azhar itself. As his nickname suggests, he composed some twenty different commentaries. He wrote some of these commentaries on major Ibāḍī works of theology, ḥadīth, and law during his time in Cairo and wrote other works following his return to Jarba in 1658, where he taught in different parts of the island.[447] Several libraries on the island today house manuscripts copies of his many works.

By the 16th century, Maghribi Ibāḍī communities had adopted the practice of endowing collections of books, evidenced by the many manuscripts from the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs* library bearing

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[446] Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:48.

[447] Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 1:389–90.

endowment statements (*waqfiyyāt*).[448] As previously in the Mzab valley and in the Jabal Nafūsa, the adoption of the *waqf* by the Ibāḍī community of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* allowed for the accumulation of substantial libraries.[449] Student and scholars passing through could then have copied these manuscripts and brought them home.

This remained true even in 1938, when Jarban historian Sālim b. Ya'qūb (d.1991) made a copy of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* at the *Wikāla* (Figure 41), the colophon of which reads:

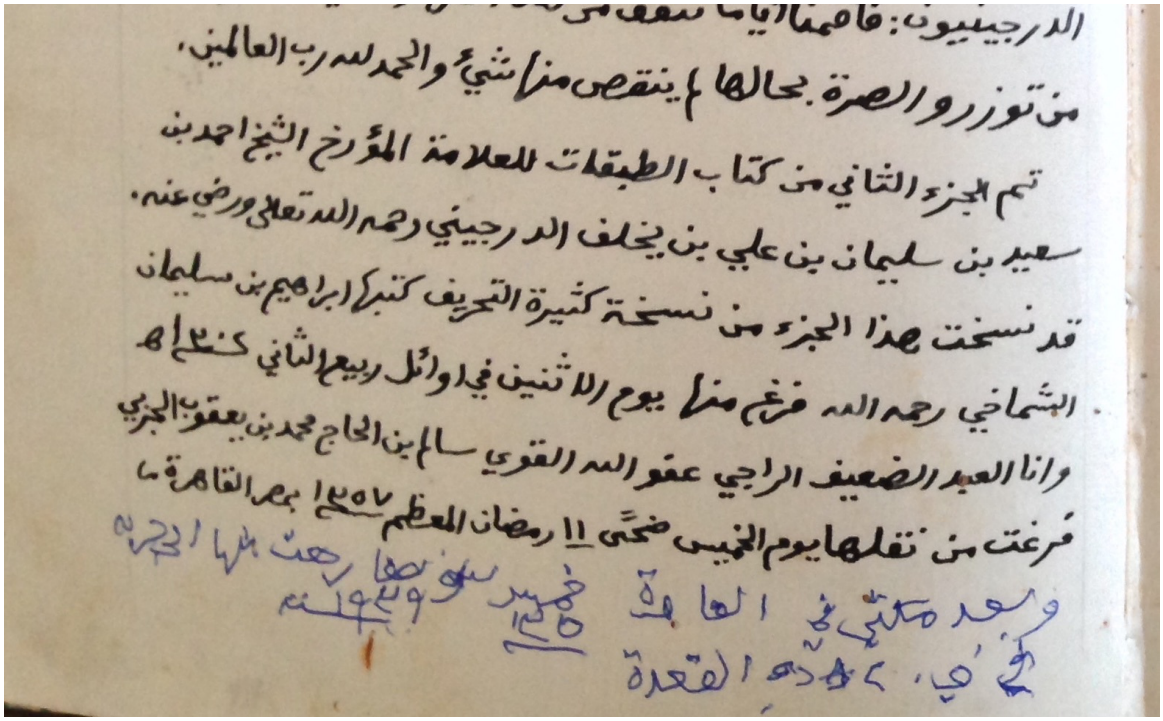

**Figure 41: Colophon from Makt. Bin Ya'qūb MS sīn 14, f.119.a**

[448] "Part 3: Index of names of Waqf givers and copyists" in Martin H. Custers, "Catalog of Waqf-Books in Wikālat Al-Baḥḥār (Jāmūs)" (Unpublished document received from author via e-mail on 12 January 2016, n.d.).

[449] Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 39.

تم الجزء الثاني من كتاب الطبقات للعلامة المؤرخ الشيخ احمد بن سعيد بن سليمان بن علي بن يخلف الدرجيني رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه قد نسخت هذا الجزء من نسخة كثيرة التحريف كتبها ابراهيم بن سليمان الشماخي رحمه الله فرغ منها يوم الاثنين في اوائل ربيع الثاني سـ[نة] ١٣٠٢ هـ وانا العبد الضعيف الراجي عفو الله القوي سالم بن الحاج محمد بن يعقوب الجربي فرغت من نقلها يوم الخميس ضحىً ١١ رمضان المعظم ١٣٥٧ بمصر القاهرة

وبعد مكثي في القاهرة خمس سنو[ات] ر[جـ]ـعت بها الى جربـ[ـة] [؟] في ٢٠ [ذ]و القعدة [٨]١٣٥ سنة ١٩٣٩

> So ends the second part of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*…I copied this part from another copy in riddled with errors written by Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Shammākhī (may God have mercy upon him). He completed it on Monday at the beginning of [the month of] al-Rabīʿ al-thānī of the year 1302 h[ijrī]. I am the weak slave, hopeful for Almighty God's forgiveness, Sālim b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Jarbī. I completed the copying [of this manuscript] on the day of al-Khamīs, at dawn on of the 11th of Ramaḍān 1357 in Cairo, Egypt.
>
> After staying in Cairo for five and a half years, I returned with [the manuscript] to Jarba on 20 Dhū al-qaʿda 135[8] / 1939.[450]

The large endowed library at the Wikāla made this practice of copying manuscripts for personal use possible. Some older extant manuscripts of the Ibāḍī prosopographies bear *waqf* statements that demonstrate that they were once housed in the *Wikāla*. For example, a copy of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, copied in 1753 by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tandimīrtī, bears two separate *waqf* statements from the 18th and the 19th centuries, respectively. The second of these, made by "the sons of Shaʿbān and Ibn Daḥmān" and transcribed by ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣidghiyānī, is dated 8 Rajab 1244 [1829] in Cairo.[451]

An 18th century copy of the *Kitāb al-siyar* bears a *waqf* statement making explicit reference to its having been housed in the *Wikāla:*

[450] MS *sīn* 14, Makt. Sālim b. Yaʿqūb, f.119.a. The handwriting at the bottom would either have been his own after he had begun to lose his eyesight or that of his son or grandson, whom he had add notes and titles to many of his manuscripts.
[451] Custers, al-Ibāḍiyya: A Bibliography, v.2, 74.

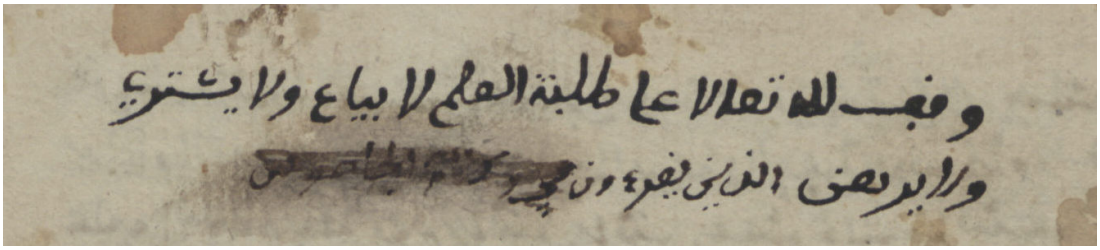

Figure 42: Endowment statement on Makt. al-Khalīlī MS 139, *Kitāb al-siyar*.

وقف لله تعالا على طلبة العلم لا يباع ولا يشتري ولا يرهن الذين يقرءون في وكالة الجاموس

> Endowed by the authority of God, may He be exalted, for the seekers of knowledge who study in the Wikālat al-jāmūs—not to be sold, bought, or pawned.[452]

These two examples, along with an additional copy of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* dating to 1942 that appears to bear a *waqf* statement from the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs*,[453] demonstrate the long-term maintenance of the library there and the continued practice of endowing books in the collection.[454]

[452] MS 139, Makt. Al-Khalīlī, first folio in digital facsimile [f.1.b?]).

[453] Dār al-kutub (Cairo), MS *ḥā'* 9112, *Kitāb siyar al-Wisyānī* (dated 1781-2), f.1 [microfilm].

[454] Aḥmad Muṣlaḥ gives a list of 36 endowed book and the names of their endowers based on a *fihris* of the manuscripts once held in the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* currently housed in the library of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khalīlī, the Mufti of Oman. Somewhat surprisingly, none of the prosopographies appear in that table—including the example from that very library cited above. Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 228–29.

Figure 44: Image of the binding cover (probably 19th c.) of Makt. al-Istiqāma MS 75, Kitāb al-siyar. The embossed mandorla and border designs are characteristic of early modern Ibāḍī manuscripts.

Figure 43: Makt. al-Ḥājj Saʿīd MS 38, Kitāb al-jawāhir. An example of repairs using multiple pieces of leather.

Ibāḍī prosopographies dating to the period of the *Wikāla*'s operation in Cairo reflect trends in the binding of Arabic manuscripts in the Ottoman era. For example, full leather bindings bearing embossed mandorla (pendant) and board designs are characteristic of the bound prosopographies dating from the 17th to the 19th century (Figure 43).[455] That these bindings were produced in a variety of

[455] E.g., MS 73, *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, Makt. Barouni (dated 1091/1680); MS 72, *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, Makt. Barouni (17th c.); MS 70, *Kitāb al-siyar,* Makt. Barouni (mid-17th c.); MS *thā'* 1, *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, Makt. Quṭb (dated 1090/1679); MS 38, *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, Makt. al-Ḥājj Saʿīd (dated 1153/1740); MS 84 *al-Khizāna al-ūlā*, *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, Makt. al-Istiqāma (dated 1192/1778); MS *mīm* 18, *Kitāb al-siyar*, Makt. ʿAmmī Saʿīd (dated 1163/1750); MS 130/*alif*, *Kitāb al-siyar*, Makt. al-Istiqāma, (early 18th c.); MS 26, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, Makt. al-Ḥājj Saʿīd (dated 1180/1767); MS ARA 30, *Kitab al-siyar*, L'Orientale (dated 1187/1773). Pendant designs of course long predate the Ottoman era but the pendant/mandorla floral designs embossed on the bindings of those manuscripts listed appear much closer to Ottoman bindings than, say, the crisp, geometric designs of Mamlūk bindings. For contrasting images of different designs, as well as an initial typology, see François Déroche, Annie

geographic locations over this period speaks to the widespread use of similar binding decorations by Ibāḍī communities across the Maghrib. At the same time, some of the most characteristic Ottoman-style bindings come from libraries connected to Tripoli, Jarba, and Egypt.

By contrast, those manuscripts with simple binding covers or specific types of repairs, for example the mixing of various colors of leather or the reinforcement of joints by weaving thick, wide, thread through the boards or flap, come from libraries in the Mzab valley (Figure 42). In terms of structure, those prosopographies that are still bound (or rebound) share characteristics with the broader, long-term pre-modern Arabic Islamic bookbinding tradition as it relates to average quire makeups (most quinions and quaternions), number of sewing stations (typically two),[456] primary endbands sewn directly to the top and bottom of the text-block, and spine covers with flanges attached directly to the text-block.[457] Overall, manuscript copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies from across Northern Africa reflect larger trends in early modern Arabic-Islamic bookbinding while in some cases still speaking local practices and preferences.

| Period | Number of MSS | Dates given in MSS |
|---|---|---|
| 1600-1700 | 8 | 1651-2; 1652; 1679; 1680; 1698 |
| 1700-1800 | 22 | 1703-4; 1707; 1719; 1720; 1736; 1740; 1750; 1753; 1761; 1765; 1766; 1767; 1773 (x2); 1774; 1775; 1778 (x2); 1781-2(?); 1790; |
| 1800-1900 | 31 | 1803; 1814; 1828-9; 1866 (x2); 1873; 1880; 1865; 1885; 1886; 1897 |

**Table 12: Early modern (17th-19th c.) copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies**

Berthier, and M. I Waley, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: Al-Furqān, 2006), 290–310.

[456] However, see Karin Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding: Methods, Materials and Regional Varieties*, 2015, 263.

[457] Due to the ubiquity of this feature, the pre-19th century bindings in the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus support Karen Scheper's recent argument that 'case-binding' is entirely inappropriate for *most* Arabic-Islamic bindings. See "A Problematic Term: Case-binding" in Ibid., 107–13.

A final feature deserving emphasis is the number of manuscripts from this period in the prosopographical corpus (Table 1). The survival of large corpora of manuscripts from the early modern period doubtless derives in part from their being much newer than their medieval predecessors. At the same time, the tremendous amount of trading and scholarly activity among Ibāḍī communities in Cairo and throughout Northern Africa—especially the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* and the cities of the Mzab valley—also played an important role in producing these manuscripts.

**Late 19th-mid 20th century Ibāḍī Manuscript Culture**

By the mid-to-late 19th century, the Ibāḍī communities of Northern and Eastern Africa, as well as those of Oman, entered what many historians now regard as a period of 'renaissance' (*nahḍa*) in which Ibāḍī scholars transmitted and composed works for their local communities as well as for much larger regional or even global Muslim audiences.[458] This period coincided with several important historical developments, including the introduction of the printing press, the broader Arab *Nahḍa,* and the beginnings of opposition to European colonial rule in Africa and Western Asia. All of these transformations affected Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib and have enjoyed the recent attention of historians.[459] One of their less commonly considered impacts, however, has been their effect on the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition during this period.

[458] The sixth in a series of conferences on Ibāḍīs focused on the *Naḥḍa* era and its preceedings are set to appear in the publication in the future: "Ibadi History: The Nahda Period," *Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences* (St. Petersburg, 1-3 June, 2015).

[459] Ibāḍī Islam in the 19th century has been the focus of studies by Valerie Hoffman and Amal Ghazal, both of whom deal with multiple regions. E.g., see Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Ghazal, "The Other Frontiers of Arab Nationalism"; Hoffman, "The Articulation of Ibādī Identity in Modern Oman and Zanzibar"; Hoffman, *The Essentials of Ibāḍī Islam*.

Martin Custers has devoted a monograph to Ibāḍī printing activities from the late 19th through the mid-20th centuries,[460] which demonstrates the long-term overlap between Ibāḍī manuscript production and Ibāḍī printing in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and Zanzibar. The Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus reflects this overlap, as well:

| Period | Number of Manuscripts | Dates given in MSS |
|---|---|---|
| 1800-1900 | 31 | 1803; 1814; 1828-9; 1866 (x2); 1873; 1880; 1865; 1885; 1886; 1897 |
| 1900-1965 | 19 | 1920; 1923; 1924 (x3); 1926; 1931(?); 1938; 1942; 1950-56; 1950-1957; 1965; 1973 |

**Table 13: 19th and 20th century dated copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies.**

Before the last two decades of the 19th century, many manuscript copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies continued to be produced. By 1885, both al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar* and al-Barrādī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt* became available in printed editions in Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia and there is a remarkable decline in the production of those two works after that date.[461] Only one copy of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* dating to the 20th century exists and to my knowledge not a single copy of the *Kitāb al-siyar* was made after its print date.[462] This speaks to the reach of the Ibāḍī printing houses, centered in Constantine and Cairo but with distribution networks connecting them to locations across Northern and Eastern Africa as well as Oman. By contrast, the remaining three works from the corpus, which remained in manuscript form until the late 20th century, continued to be copied:

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[460] Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*

[461] Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-siyar* (Cairo: [litho.] al-Maṭbaʿa al-Bārūniyya, 1883); al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*.

[462] In the catalog, the manuscript appears under the title "Sygn. Depozyt 1.2 Fragment anonimowego ibadyckiego traktatu historyczno-biograficznego." The first page of the photocopy of the manuscript, however, correctly identifies the work as "Fragment rekopisu ibadyckiego/moze K. al-Ǧawāhir al-Barradiego?," Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library (Krakow). The manuscript came to Lwow in the early 20th century from Algeria, where it was copied at the request of Zygmunt Smogorzewski, giving it a *terminus ante quem* of 1931.

| Uniform Title | Number of MSS transcribed in 20th century | Dates given in MSS |
|---|---|---|
| *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma* | 10 | 1924 (x2); 1926; 1950-6; 1965; |
| *Kitāb Siyar al-Wisyānī* | 5 | 1920; 1924; 1973 |
| *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* | 3 | 1923; 1938; 1950-7 |

**Table 14: Copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies from the 20th century according to title.**

Perhaps not surprisingly given its lack of a printing press, the Mzab valley continued alongside the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* as a center for the production of Ibāḍī manuscripts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In addition to manuscripts commissioned in the Mzab by European Orientalists at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century,[463] manuscript copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies transcribed by Mzabis for local use also reflect some interesting features of Ibāḍī manuscript culture in that period.

In terms of binding structures, local preference or variation for one feature appears again and again: the unsewn text-block. Manuscripts of the prosopographical corpus alone include 18 examples of unsewn text-blocks.[464] Two of these examples date to before the 19th century, with the first dating to the 16th century in the Mzab and the second (dated 1090/1679) having been transcribed in the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* by the Jarban copyist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Sadwīkishī. The remaining 16 copies appear to date to the 19th and 20th centuries. Finally, most of these unsewn text-blocks were transcribed and remain housed to this day in the Mzab valley.

[463] On which see below: "Coda: The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus."

[464] Makt. Irwān MS 70 [2 texts in different hands] (late 19th c.); Makt. Al-Istiqāma MS 67 (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*) (dated 1229/1814); Makt. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿalī MS *dāl ghayn* 001 (late 19th/early 20th c.); Makt. Āl Yaddar MS 45 (dated 1343/1924); Makt. Al-Istiqāma MS 120 (*al-khizāna al-ūlā*) (16th c.); Makt. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿalī MS *mīm* 032 (dated 1297/1880); Makt. Āl Yaddar MS 79 (dated Tripoli 1283/1866); Makt. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿalī MS *mīm* 035 (19th c.); Makt. Ḥammū Bābā wa Mūsā MS *ḥā' dāl ghayn* 98 (late 18th/early 19th c.); Makt. Irwān MS 68 (dated 1283/1866); Makt. Al-Quṭb MS *thā'* 2 (dated 1310/1897); Makt. Āl Yaddar MS 45 (dated 1343/1924); Makt. Al-Quṭb MS *thā'* 1 (dated Egypt 1090/1679); Ivan Franko MS 1085 II, (19th c.); Ivan Franko MS 1088 II – II.4 (19th c.); Makt. Bin Yaʿqūb *qāf* 97 (N.D).; Makt. Bin Yaʿqūb *qāf* 113 (N.D.).

Codicologists have offered an number of explanations for this unusual practice within the broader Arabic manuscript tradition. In the case of the Ibāḍī prosopographies the choice not to have a text-block sewn can be attributed to regional practice and Ibāḍī manuscript culture in the Mzab valley. Karen Scheper has noted in her recent study of Islamic manuscripts at the University of Leiden Library that North and West African bookbinding practices often differed from broader trends in the Arabic-Islamic bookbinding tradition—even though 'Berber' bindings from Northern Africa were often 'stabbed' bindings.[465] Nevertheless, the same study points out that unsewn textblocks have been identified in a number of different collections worldwide,[466] although only a handful in the UBL connection can be localized to Egypt. There, based on a statement by Edward Lane,[467] Scheper suggests that booksellers dealt in unsewn quires for economical and practical reasons. Finally, she noted that unsewn blocks, with a handful of exceptions, appear to be a trend of the 19th and early 20th century.[468]

The Ibāḍī prosopographies written on unsewn quires conform remarkably well to Scheper's suggestions, although only one of the copies can be traced to Egypt and it belonged to the library of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. Many of the other copies from the Mzab valley also belong to library collections from the 19th and 20th centuries and so, in terms of period, the Ibāḍī prosopographies certainly support

[465] Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding*, 263.
[466] See "Unsewn manuscripts with wrapper bindings" in Ibid., 91–93.
[467] "The leaves of the books are seldom sewn together, but they are usually enclosed in a cover bound with leather; and mostly have, also, an outer case (called *zurf*) of pasteboard and leather…the leaves are thus arranged, in small parcels, without being sewed, in order that one book may be of use to a number of persons at the same time; each taking a karra's." (Quoted in Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding,* 281-2).
[468] Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding*, 281.

Scheper's suggestion that the unsewn textblock reflects a 19th and early 20th century trend.[469] Although much more work would need to be done on other unsewn textblocks in the Mzab, those examples from the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus suggest that in the 19th and 20th century there was a preference among Ibāḍī scholars and in Ibāḍī libraries of the Mzab valley for unsewn textblocks for 'popular' works like the Ibāḍī *siyar* texts.[470]

More specifically, this preference in Ibāḍī communities stemmed from a need for the circulation of texts among students or scholar who used semi-private (or, in the case of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, public) library collections. That is, just as in the Egyptian practice described by Edward Lane, the practice of using unsewn textblocks allowed Ibāḍī students and scholars to circulate individual quires among themselves for study or copying. For the 19th century, this explanation amounts to much more than conjecture given that dozens of examples of loan statements for individual quires have been identified and documented in the Mzab valley by Ibāḍī historians.[471]

In terms of materials, the extant prosopographies reflect a transition from the use of hand-made papers in the early to mid-19th century toward the growing use of woven or even notebook paper by the 20th century. This is first and foremost an economic phenomenon connected to the growing availability and cheaper cost of woven or machine-made papers. Nevertheless, watermark evidence

[469] In addition to Scheper's examples and the Ibāḍī manuscripts noted here, during a recent (2015) inventory of part of the *Jaʿayyiṭ* family library, I identified many texts written on unsewn textblocks dating to the mid-19th century. The results of that survey are currently in preparation for publication.

[470] An interesting local variation occurred in early 20th century Jarba, where Ibāḍī historian Sālim b. Yaʿqūb had many manuscripts that he had brought from the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* bound in French-style quarter leather bindings [personal observation from inventory of Sālim b. Yaʿqūb library, October-December 2015).

[471] Loan statements represent only one part of the exhaustive, multi-authored study of the autograph manuscripts of Amuḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish (d.1914) in Benisguen, Algeria: *Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat muʾallafāt al-shaykh al-ʿallāma Amuḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish al-Yasjanī al-shahīr bi-l-quṭb*. An example within the corpus is a 19th-century binding made of printed French texts glued together as pasteboards. On the interior of the top board is a note from the binder, who had copied the original statement of loan that was on the interior of the original board (Makt. Al-Quṭb, MS *thāʾ* 8).

suggests that up until the end of the 19th and even the beginning of the 20th century, Ibāḍī scholars preferred Italian paper for the production of new manuscripts. A similar, largely unsurprising change occurs in writing materials, with the growing use of manufactured ink pens in copies from the 20th century. One exception is a copy of the *Kitāb siyar al-Wisyānī,* made in the Mzab during the 1920s, elegantly bound in full leather and copied on hand-made, watermarked Italian paper.[472] Overall, however, the prosopographical manuscript corpus suggests a movement toward more inexpensive materials from the late 19th and 20th century toward.

A final aspect of Ibāḍī manuscript culture from the late 19th and early 20th century deserves mention. Although historians are accustomed to drawing a distinction between manuscript and printed materials, a typical feature of many 19th century libraries in Northern and Eastern Africa was the existence of 'hybrid' works—and Ibāḍī libraries are no exception. As many readers continue to do today, Ibāḍī scholars who purchased lithograph or typeset editions of the *siyar* and other texts would often make extensive marginal notes by hand, in the style of a tradition *ḥāshiya.* Likewise, it is common to find a handwritten table of contents either adhered or even sewn into the same volume. Furthermore, handwritten statements of ownership, sale, purchase, or loan remained standard features of early printed editions of Ibāḍī texts. Many scholars also owned *both* manuscript and lithographed or typeset editions of the same texts.

In short, the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition did not come to an abrupt halt at the end of the 19th century. Instead, Ibāḍīs throughout Northern Africa continued to transcribe manuscripts well into the

[472] Makt. Āl Yaddar MS 45, *Kitāb siyar al-Wisyānī* (dated Benisguen, 1343/1924). Two other examples of this same elegant style of binding from the Mzab were brought to Lviv by Zygmunt Smogorsewski: Ivan Franko MS 993 II, *Kitāb al-dalīl wa l-burhān* (mid-to-late 19th c.) and MS 991 II, *Kitāb al-nīl* (dated 1287/1874).

20th century, although generally on increasingly cheaper materials. Likewise, the owners and users of printed Ibāḍī texts like the prosopographies did not suddenly cease to be part of the manuscript culture that preceded printing. To the contrary, the manuscript tradition became fused together with the new technology of printing and the users of those texts interacted with them in much the same way as their predecessors had done with manuscript books throughout the early modern period.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has identified three major phases in the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition based on the extant Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus. While the conclusions presented here await corroboration based on more extensive surveys of a variety of different texts, a number of points can be offered regarding Ibāḍī manuscript culture from the late 15th through the mid-20th century.

First and foremost, the long-term dominance (mid-14th-early 20th c.) of Italian papers is remarkable. There is no evidence (yet) to suggest that Italian traders sold directly to Ibāḍī communities in the Mzab valley or the Jabal Nafūsa, although it is possible they could have done so in Jarba. The more likely explanations are that (1) Ibāḍīs would have purchased Italian paper directly from Italian traders in port cities like Tunis or Tripoli (and perhaps Jarba); (2) Ibāḍīs purchased the papers through intermediaries in larger cities and then brought them back to their towns and villages; (3) Ibāḍī communities purchased the paper through caravans of traders, itinerant students, or pilgrims passing through the Sahara, the island of Jarba, or the Tripolitania. For the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, the availability of Italian and other European papers in Cairo during the period of its operation has

been traced in the excellent study by Terence Walz.[473] The transition toward the use of cheaper paper in the 20th century resulted from the growing availability and competitive prices of those papers worldwide.

The prosopographical corpus also reveals some additional characteristics of Ibāḍī manuscript culture. From the earliest examples onward, the corpus suggests that Ibāḍīs conformed to practices that were widespread elsewhere like collation and audition, though in a far less formal fashion than their late-medieval Muslim contemporaries in Northern Africa or Western Asia. Also by the late medieval period, as al-Shammākhī noted in the 15th century, Ibāḍīs had adopted the practice of endowing books for posterity. This allowed for the formation of libraries housing much larger collections than had been the case in earlier periods.

Moving forward in time, the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* and the Mzab valley emerge as important centers for manuscript production in the early modern period (17th-19th centuries). The *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in particular served a hub for the production of manuscripts, and this endowed collection provided students and scholars with dozens of titles for study and copy. The manuscripts produced at the *Wikāla* were often a group effort, with two or more students working on the same manuscript. Scholars passing through Cairo could commmission manuscripts for their own personal use or with the aim of gifting them as endowments in the *Wikāla*'s library. Bindings of the prosopographies dating to the early modern period, whether from Egypt or elsewhere, demonstrate that Ibāḍīs largely

[473] Walz, "The Paper Trade of Egypt and the Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and Its Re-Export to the Bilād as-Sūdān."

conformed to stylistic trends current in the Ottoman period including full leather bindings bearing embossed pendant designs, floral patterns, and borders.

Finally, the modern period witnessed the continuation of the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition well into the 19th and 20th centuries. The preference for unsewn textblocks in the Mzab and possibly in Egypt reflects the practice of lending individual quires for the purpose of reading or copying. The widespread availability of the printed editions of the *Kitāb al-siyar* and *Kitāb al-jawāhir,* however, means that manuscript copies of those works virtually disappear at the end of the 19th century. By contrast, the other three prosopographical works continue to be copied well into the 20th century, as late as the 1970s.

The image of the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition from the late medieval period up to the 20th century that emerges from this analysis consists of a manuscript culture and practices at once reflective of Ibāḍī communities and their localized practices, and of broader historical trends in the Arab-Islamic manuscript tradition up through the 19th century. The next chapter explores how this culture of the production and circulation of the Ibāḍī prosopographies itself helped establish 'orbits' that brought together people, places, and books from across the centuries to form the present-day Ibāḍī archive.

# Chapter 8:
# The Orbits of Ibāḍī Manuscripts

Learning from the Material Network

**Introduction**

In order to provide a framework for the long-term movement of the prosopographical corpus in the late medieval and early modern periods, this chapter adopts the conceptual language of 'orbits' from John Wansbrough's *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*.[474] Although Wansbrough used the concept of 'orbits' for very different purposes, it still fits, to an admirable extent, the trajectories of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and other Ibāḍī texts. In describing chancery practice and diplomatic contact in the Mediterranean, Wansbrough wrote:

> The immediate tangible evidence of contact would be routes. That these might be described as orbital can be gleaned from the simple observation that ships and emissaries were expected to, and mostly did, return to their points of departure. The implication is merely that the voyage home was the concomitant of every outward journey, and that some sort of feedback was thus the anticipated consequence of every input.[475]

In a similar fashion, I argue here that the 'orbit' of the prosopographical corpus refers to the often elliptical and overlapping intellectual and commercial circuits along which these and other Ibāḍī manuscript books moved. These circuits amounted to chains of human and non-human actors

[474] John E. Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996). More recently, Michael Brett used Wansbrough's concept of diplomatic orbits to discuss Zirid-Fatimid relations. See Michael Brett, "The Diplomacy of Empire: Fatimids and Zirids, 990-1062," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 78, no. 1 (2015): 149–59.
[475] Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*, 1–2.

connecting multiple geographic locations; in other words, their 'material network.' While manuscripts may not always have moved in patterns precisely analogous to ships, the papers upon which they were written would (literally) have done so. Likewise, once they had made their way to the Maghrib, the papers (and then the books produced from them) moved along well-trodden paths in Northern Africa: the Saharan routes.[476] Wansbrough's final point about the orbital circuits of the Mediterranean highlights a point especially relevant to the trajectories of the prosopographical corpus and Ibāḍī manuscript books, in general:

> Now, the structure underlying this kind of conjuncture is conceivable, but difficult to document. The longterm data are retrogressively discrete and diffuse. For example, routes do not in the earliest historical period produce a thickly inked circuit diagram. Their reconstruction requires a different sort of extrapolation: from dispersed archaeological sites and random toponyms. Putative networks linking these rest upon imaginative study of the terrain and conjectural reckoning of the pace between stages…. While it is true that the resulting maps indicate 'interaction zones' rather than transport routes, it seems clear…that a communication network can be mooted.[477]

Just as the written network of the prosopographies helped create and maintain the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib, the orbits of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus in manuscript form facilitated connections among people and places and helped mark the boundaries of community. Like Wansbrough's orbital circuits of communication, analysis cannot result in a "thickly inked circuit diagram" of the movement of the Ibāḍī prosopographies among different Ibāḍī communities and only the "dispersed archaeological sites" of the manuscript evidence can reconstruct the orbits of

[476] Decades ago, Fernand Braudel noted the similarity between the routes of the Sahara and the Mediterranean and historians of the Mediterranean have recently revisited the comparison. See "The Sahara: the Second Face of the Mediterranean" in Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), v.1, 171-187. More recent reactions to the Saharan analogy or comparison appeared in William V Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[477] Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*, 2–3.

manuscripts making up the material network.[478] This, in turn, requires an imaginative approach that combines the movement of people described in the written network of the Ibāḍī prosopographies together with the material network of their extant manuscript copies.

Using the prosopographical corpus as its guide, this chapter explores the circuits along which Ibāḍī manuscripts moved over the *longue durée* from the end of the Middle Period through the 20th century. While the previous chapter described Ibāḍī manuscript culture, the present one attempts to understand and describe the importance of the spaces these books occupied and the paths that allowed them to circulate. It begins with a sketch of a proposed material network of Ibāḍī books up to the 16th century, when new centers of manuscript production emerged alongside or in place of older ones. A return to the centrality of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* during the early modern period (17th-19th c.) sets up the discussion for the focus of the chapter: the creation of the manuscript collections that today make up the Ibāḍī archive in Northern Africa. Using the examples of three individual scholars and the manuscript collections associated with them, the chapter follows the Ibāḍī prosopographies as they helped to form and maintain the material network by treading paths of exchange and communication between different Ibāḍī communities. The chapter concludes by comparing the material remains of the prosopographical corpus with a sample of the Ibāḍī 'core curriculum.' Overall, it demonstrates the complementary character of the written and material networks of the Ibāḍī prosopographies.

[478] More recently, Michael McCormick made a similar argument in which evidence of communication and the far-flung dispersion of certain goods in the Mediterranean served as historical proxies for exchange: Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**Orbits of Ibāḍī Books up to the 16th Century**

In the Middle Period, Ibāḍī manuscript books would have followed a circuit connecting the Jabal Nafūsa, the island of Jarba, Nefzāwa, the Jarīd, the Zāb region, Sadrāta, and Wārjalān, with occasional disruptions and tangents southward farther into the Sahara or eastward toward Egypt, especially for pilgrims on Hajj. Each work in the prosopographical corpus pointed to this largely latitudinal movement of books, people, and ideas among the islands of the Ibāḍī archipelago. The cumulative prosopographical tradition also made possible the shared communal memory of circuits connecting different communities. Regardless of the time and space separating these regions and the Ibāḍī communities that inhabited them, the prosopographies brought them together into the same conceptual and historical orbit. But the prosopographical corpus, along with other written works by Ibāḍī authors, also established links between these regions in a different way. The paper upon which these works were written likewise created a tangible connection between different communities. Furthermore, it merits emphasizing that the two mediums of communication—people and paper—followed the same paths and worked in tandem to create and maintain connections with one another. Like Wansbrough's ship routes in the Mediterranean, these actors' journeys along these paths were primarily orbital since, the vast majority of the time, travel for business or education resulted in a return to the point of departure—a return accompanied by the relationships, knowledge, and books accumulated over the course of the journey.

Like the written network of the Middle Period described in the prosopographies themselves, the material network relied on a series of hubs that connected a series of smaller, satellite communities throughout the region. Through the hubs, even the smallest, most remote

Ibāḍī communities maintained a connection to places like Tāhart and the Jabal Nafūsa in the Rustumid period and Jarba and Sadrāta in the early Middle Period. With each dramatic change to the religious and political landscape of Northern Africa, the geography of the network of people and books would have changed. The collapse of Zirid power in the 11th century, the arrival of the Almohads, the loss of the Zāb region to Sunnism, the disappearance of Ibāḍī communities in the Jarīd, and the destruction of Sadrāta each required a restructuring of connections among Ibāḍī communities. On the narrative level, the prosopographies brought together people and places even long after they had ceased to be home to Ibāḍī communities. But the ebb and flow of demographic and political changes in the region affected the material network—composed of books and letters that Ibāḍī scholars copied, recopied, and circulated along ever-changing routes—by bringing geographic hubs of manuscript production to prominence. Likewise, these changes also meant the destruction of other, now lost archives.

The manuscripts of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus reflect these changes insofar as they largely date to the 16th century and later. As discussed in the previous chapters, the late 15th century saw the establishment of the towns of the Mzab valley as centers for the production of manuscripts alongside Jarba and the Jabal Nafūsa. Enjoying regular trade and pilgrim traffic between the Sahara and the Northern African littoral and Egypt, the Mzab valley had both the connections and the resources to rise quickly to a position of distinction in the Ibāḍī archipelago. The arrival of Saʿīd b. ʿAlī al-Khayrī (ʿAmmī Saʿīd) from Jarba at the end of the 15th century serves as a symbolic beginning to this rise as well as a marker of the circuit connecting the Mzab valley and Jarba, two of the most important Ibāḍī hubs in the material network from the 15th century forward. It is no coincidence that the earliest

copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies to survive were transcribed in and remain housed in libraries located in these two places. Furthermore, due to the (relative) stability and long-term presence of Ibāḍī communities in these locations from the 16th century onward, the libraries of the Mzab and Jarba came to represent the twin poles of the Northern African Ibāḍī manuscript archive.

**The *Wikālat al-jāmūs* and the Orbits of Ibāḍī Texts in the Early Modern Period**

With the establishment of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, the material network of the Ibāḍī prosopographies gained another important hub and the orbit along which they moved expanded considerably. The importance of the *Wikāla* to the production and circulation of manuscripts shows again that the circuits along which books moved were identical to those along which students, scholars, and traders moved. Like the Mzab valley, Cairo enjoyed a central position as an intellectual and cultural hub for the Ibāḍī community (as it did for so many other religious communities) thanks in large part to its geographic location. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ibāḍīs from throughout Northern Africa made Cairo a destination for business, education, or as a way station on their journey to complete the Hajj. The continual flow of students, scholars, and traders through the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* meant that new written Ibāḍī works were constantly flowing into Cairo, while the endowed library made those works available to each and every Ibāḍī who passed through.

The existence of this library, combined with the availability of writing materials and a legion of students-cum-copyists meant that the *Wikāla* served at once as a destination for manuscript books and a point of departure for them. As Ibāḍīs passed through the *Wikāla*, they brought books with them and carried others with them when they left, expanding the orbit of Ibāḍī manuscripts to include not only the Mzab, Jarba, and Tripolitania, but also Cairo as a central hub connecting Ibāḍīs

from all three places to the Ibāḍī communities of the east in the Ḥijāz and Oman. The centrality of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in the material network goes a long way toward explaining the conformity of Ibāḍī manuscript culture described in the previous chapter to the broader Arabic manuscript tradition. In addition, the importance of the *Wikāla* as a hub of production and circulation in the network of Ibāḍī manuscripts also helps trace the creation of the modern Ibāḍī archive.

**The Orbits of Ibāḍī Manuscripts in the 19th-20th centuries**

The libraries of the Mzab valley and the island of Jarba today house the vast majority of Ibāḍī manuscript materials in the Maghrib. The rise to prominence of those two places as centers in the manuscript network began in the medieval centuries. The centrality of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in the early modern period as a hub for Mzabi and Jarban Ibāḍī students, scholars, and traders who brought books to Cairo, copied new works while there, and then carried them with them when they left, insured the continuing importance of these two places well into the 20th century. While in most cases the details of the journeys of Ibāḍī manuscripts along this orbit escape detailed description, a handful of individual cases exemplify the connections among these different centers of Ibāḍī manuscript production and highlight the orbital circuits along which written texts moved.

Three Maghribi Ibāḍī scholars from the 19th and 20th centuries, all of whom spent time at the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*, help trace the trajectory of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and other Ibāḍī manuscripts in Northern Africa. Although the examples are from the 19th and 20th centuries, the preceding chapters demonstrated that the circuits followed by these individuals had been traversed by Ibāḍī scholars since the 15th century with the establishment of the primary geographic hubs of intellectual activity.

The examples are especially instructive because the scholarly life of each figure also contributed to the establishment of at least one significant manuscript collection that has survived into the present; meanwhile, most private libraries of Jarba, the Mzab, or the Jabal Nafūsa emerged out of a similar orbital movement of people and books.[479]

### *Saʿīd b. ʿAysā al-Bārūnī and the Bārūnīyya Library of Jarba*

The first and earliest of the three figures was Saʿīd b. ʿAysā al-Bārūnī (d.1868). Born in the Nafūsa Mountains of present-day northwestern Libya, he belonged to a scholarly family already well known by the time al-Shammākhī composed his *Kitāb al-siyar*.[480] Saʿīd completed his primary education in Libya before traveling to Cairo to study at the al-Azhar mosque. Like so many other Ibāḍī students before him, he took up residence in the Ṭūlūn district and later served as the director (*naẓīr*) of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*.[481] After completing his studies, he spent some twenty years in Cairo teaching at the Ibāḍī school (affiliated with the *Wikāla*) and at al-Azhar.[482] While in Egypt, he took advantage of access to Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī manuscripts and began both to purchase and to copy manuscripts in the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. Many if not most of those manuscripts in his distinctive Maghribi hand survive

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[479] The formation of large private manuscript libraries from the late 18th through the early 20th century was not a phenomenon unique to Ibāḍīs. Many large manuscript collections were constituted in this period. The different contributions to a recent volume of the book trade in the Sahara, for example, have shown that the same period witnessed a growth in private libraries in Northwestern Africa: Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon, *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011). The 19th century also saw the formation of substantial Islamic manuscript collections in East Africa. For example, see the recent studies on the the Riyadha Mosque manuscript collection: Anne K. Bang, "The Riyadha Mosque Manuscript Collection in Lamu, Kenya," *Islamic Africa* 6 (2015): 209–15; Anne K. Bang, "Localising Islamic Knowledge: Acquisition and Copying of the Riyadha Mosque Manuscript Collection in Lamu, Kenya," in *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme*, ed. Maja Kominko (Open Book Publishers, 2015).

[480] The Bārūnī family appears at the end of al-Shammākhī's *Siyar,* alongside branches the compiler's own family (al-Shammākhī): al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-Sīyar*, 799.

[481] Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 125.

[482] al-Bārūnī Saʿīd, ed., *Fihris makhṭūṭāt maktabat al-Bārūnī bi-jarba* (Tunis, 1998), 3. For more on the Bārūnīyya library, see Love, "Écouter le conte d'un manuscrit: penser avec une copie d'une chronique ibadite de la bibliothèque Barouni à Djerba."

to the present (Figure 44). Following his return to the Nafūsa mountains, he continued teaching and collecting manuscript books, including the purchase of a library belonging to his relative Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-Bārūnī al-Nafūsī.[483]

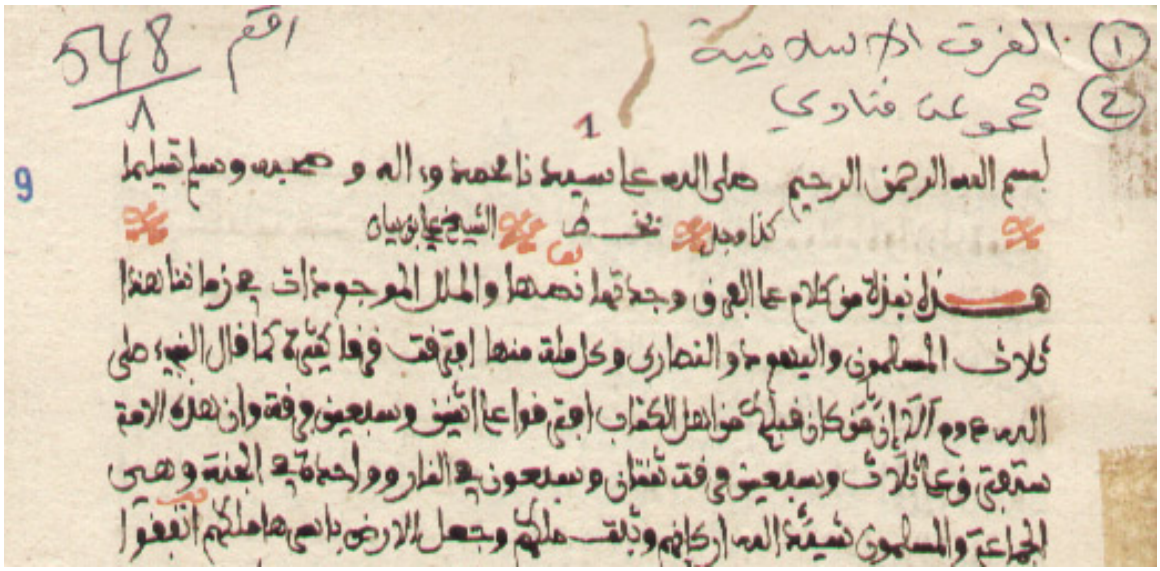

**Figure 45: f.1.a from Makt. al-Bārūnī MS 548 [catalog number] written in the hand of the Saʿīd b. ʿAysā al-Bārūnī.**

A fortuitous visit to Jarba led to an invitation to take up a teaching position at the '*Miswariyya*' Great Mosque in the village of Ḥashshān.[484] The death of its Imām and teacher, Sulaymān al-Shammākhī, had left the mosque inactive and so Saʿīd accepted the position and relocated to Jarba in 1811. He spent

[483] E.g., the colophon Makt. al-Bārūnīyya, MS 80, a copy of Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Wārjalānī's *Kitāb al-ʿadl wa l-inṣāf* (dated mid *Jumādā al-thānī* 1180) notes as its copyist one ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Abī Bakr al-Bārūnī, suggesting that the manuscript came from that branch of the family's collection.

[484] The *Miswariyya* mosque, also known as the 'Great Mosque' (*al-jāmiʿ al-kabīr*) was founded at the end of the 9th/beginning of the 10th century by Abū Miswar Yasjā, a key figure in the island's history and an often-cited link between the island and the Ibāḍī Rustamid dynasty. On the connection, see Love, "Djerba and the Limits of Rustamid Power. Considering the Ibāḍī Community of Djerba under the Rustamid Imāms of Tāhert (779-909CE)."

the remainder of his life teaching at the *Miswariyya* and the *Jāmiʿ al-shaykh* in the town of *Ḥūmat al-sūq* (Houmt Souq).[485]

When Saʿīd moved to Jarba, he brought with him his impressive collection of manuscript books, representing at least one thousand titles.[486] He brought these from Egypt and the Jabal Nafūsa and their journey represents one of the basic circuits in the orbit of Ibāḍī scholars and manuscripts from the 16th to the 20th centuries. Beginning in the Jabal Nafūsa, Saʿīd traveled to Cairo where he spent a significant period of his life affiliated with the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. The manuscripts collected there then traveled back to Libya before continuing on to Jarba. These manuscripts, inherited by his children and grandchildren, have long served as a rich source of information for scholars and students from Jarba, the Mzab, Jabal Nafūsa, Oman, and Europe. [487]

The Bārūniyya library in Jarba today holds seven copies of the prosopographies, including: three copies of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*;[488] a fragment of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*;[489] two fragments of the *Kitāb*

[485] Saʿīd, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt maktabat al-Bārūnī bi-jarba*, 3; Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:184; Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 63.

[486] The library's website gives the number of 1087 manuscripts (http://elbarounia.com), without clarifying if this refers to titles or volumes. In any event, since the process of re-cataloging the library by the Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq began in 2012, it remains unclear how many titles the library holds, though they certainly number well over a thousand. On the re-cataloging project see Love, "Écouter le conte d'un manuscrit: penser avec une copie d'une chronique ibadite de la bibliothèque Barouni à Djerba."

[487] In decades past, the only way to access the collection was to contact the curator (Saʿīd al-Barūnī or his father Yūsuf before him) to arrange a visit to the family farm in Ḥashshān, just in front of the Miswariyya mosque. In early 2016, the library opened the doors of its new facility in the town of Houmt Souk, where researchers can access the collection and use the library during set hours. An electronic version of the (1998) catalog is available on the library's website and manuscript facsimiles can be ordered from the website and transferred electronically: http://elbarounia.com/archive.htm [accessed 20 January 2016].

[488] Makt. Al-Bārūniyya MS 73 (dated Ramaḍān 1090/ October 1680); MS 72 (N.D., watermarks suggest 17th century and the MS bears a statement of sale on f.4.a noting it was purchased in Tunis by Saʿīd b. ʿAysā al-Bārūnī); MS 82 (N.D., 16th c.?).

[489] Makt. Al-Bārūniyya MS 69 (N.D., mid-17th c.?).

*al-ṭabaqāt;*[490] and one copy of the *Kitāb al-siyar*.[491] Multiple copies of the same works, especially fragmentary copies, became a standard feature of late early modern and modern-era Ibāḍī libraries. Notably, not a single copy of these prosopographies dates to the lifetime of the library's founder. With one exception from the 18th century, they all date to the late 16th and 17th centuries. These dates point again to the especially active period of manuscript production and scholarship in early modern Ibāḍī communities of both the Jabal Nafūsa and the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. Watermark evidence from these copies echoes earlier observations regarding the popularity of Italian papers in both Tripolitania and Egypt, where Ibāḍī communities could have purchased the papers directly from merchants, whether Italian or French.[492] It was in these two locations, furthermore, that the orbital circuits of Mediterranean trade overlapped with those of Ibāḍī scholars and traders. Once they had exchanged goods for paper, they then brought that paper along well-defined circuits connecting Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib and Egypt. The orbital movement of the manuscripts of the Bārūnīyya library and its founder, who traveled with his books from the Nafūsa Mountains to Egypt and back before continuing on to Jarba, reflects a standard Ibāḍī circuit for the movement of people, ideas and books in early modern Northern Africa.

[490] Makt. Al-Bārūniyya MS 80 (dated Dhū al-ḥujja 1173 / July-August 1760); MS 81 (N.D., 'Bull head and cross' watermark suggests 16th c.).
[491] Makt. Al-Bārūniyya, MS 70 (N.D., 17th c.?).
[492] The now standard reference is the article by Terence Walz on the paper trade in Egypt and the Sudan, including an exhaustive study of documents in Egypt, which helps provide context for the period of the *Wikāla*'s operation: Walz, "The Paper Trade of Egypt and the Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and Its Re-Export to the Bilād as-Sūdān." Notably, none of the watermarks from the Ibāḍī prosopographical database appear to reflect the period(s) of French dominance in the paper trade market. Walz noted, however, that both Italian and French traders participated successfully and concurrently in the trade during the early modern period.

*Sālim b. Yaʿqūb and the Bin Yaʿqūb Library in Jarba*

The second representative figure of the circuits along which Ibāḍī books and people traveled, Sālim b. Yaʿqūb (d.1991), was born in the village of Ghizen on the island of Jarba. Unlike the other two figures discussed here, Sālim did not come from an old and distinguished family of Ibāḍī scholars. After his primary education on Jarba, he continued his studies at the Zaytūna mosque in Tunis before moving to Cairo in 1934 to attend al-Azhar.[493] While there, he stayed at the *Wikālat al-jāmūs,* where he devoted five years not only to studying but also to the copying, and especially the collection of Ibāḍī manuscripts.[494] Sālim counted among his most prominent teachers Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish (d.1965), the director of the *Wikāla* and a prominent Ibāḍī journalist, editor, and political activist (on whom see below). Upon his return to Jarba in 1939, Sālim brought with him hundreds of manuscript fragments collected or copied in Cairo, along with hundreds of magazines, journals, and lithograph books from Egypt. The manuscript collection ranges from works transcribed as early as the 16th through the 20th century and includes most of the major works of Ibāḍī jurisprudence, theology, and prosopography.[495]

Unlike the Bārūnī library or many of the manuscript collections in the Mzab valley, which often reflect generations of collecting passed on through a family or clan, the Bin Yaʿqūb manuscript collection resulted from the efforts of a single individual.[496] This also helps explain the somewhat

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[493] Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh jazīrat jirba wa ʿulamāʾihā*, 3; Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:167–68.

[494] Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 125; Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh jazīrat jirba wa ʿulamāʾihā*, 4.

[495] In the fall of 2015, the current curator of the library, Nājī b. Yaʿqūb, and I began an inventory of the library's manuscript holdings under the auspices of a Collection Care and Emergency Response Grant from the Islamic Manuscript Association (UK). It is our hope that the results of that preliminary inventory will be available by late 2016 or early 2017.

[496] For this important observation, I have to thank Werner Schwartz. [Personal correspondence, dated 31 October 2015].

fragmentary nature of the collection, which ranges from incomplete fragments of one page to several quires of hundreds of different titles.[497] The Ibāḍī prosopographies, in particular, demonstrate the collection's character. The Bin Yaʿqūb library holds at least 14 copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies, ranging from a one-page fragment of the *Kitāb al-siyar* to a complete and partially leather-bound copy of the second half of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* in Sālim's own hand, and including at least one fragment of each of the five principal Ibāḍī prosopographical texts.[498]

The Bin Yaʿqūb collection owes its existence to the circuit traversed by its founder at the beginning of the 20th century from Jarba to Tunis to Egypt. Like al-Bārūnī before him, Shaykh Sālim traveled from the northern tip of the Ibāḍī archipelago in Jarba to its southernmost point, the Ibāḍī trading and intellectual hub of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in Cairo. There he collected hundreds of manuscripts that made the return journey to Jarba, completing the orbital movement of Ibāḍī scholars and manuscripts. In the case of al-Bārūnī and Bin Yaʿqūb, the centrality of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* for the production and distribution of Ibāḍī manuscripts in the Maghrib (especially Jabal Nafūsa and Jarba) is clear. The Mzab valley, however, would also remain crucial to the creation and

[497] Initial results of the inventory count the number of bound volumes at 14, while the complete or near complete unbound titles number 33. The number of fragments turned out to be much larger than expected, amounting to 677 fragments representing at least 300 different titles. Multiple copies of some of the most seminal works are a characteristic feature, suggesting that Shaykh Sālim intentionally collected multiple copies of the same titles.

[498] Makt. Bin Yaʿqūb MS *sīn* 14, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* (dated 11 Ramaḍān 1357 / 4 November 1938 in the hand of Sālim b, Yaʿqūb); MS qāf 43, *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt* and [first folio from] *Kitāb siyar al-Shammākhī*; MS qāf 101, *Kitāb al-siyar*; MS qāf 102, *min siyar al-Shammākhī*; MS qāf 103, *min siyar al-Shammākhī*; MS qāf 168, *Sīrat Ibn ʿAbd al-Sallām* [*al-Wisyānī?*]; MS qāf 208, *min Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt li 'l-Darjīnī*; MS qāf 238, *al-Siyar li 'l-Shammākhī*; MS qāf 239, *min Kitāb siyar Abī Zakarīyā' b. Bakr al-Wārjalānī*; MS qāf 240, *min tārīkh Abī Zakarīyā'* [*al-Wārjalānī*]; MS qāf 241, *al-Ṭabaqāt*; MS qāf 242, *min Kitāb siyar al-Shammākhī*; MS qāf 243, *min Kitāb al-jawāhir li 'l-shaykh Qāsim al-Barrādī*; The 14th copy was of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt*, listed in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:74. I did not encounter a dated copy of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* in the survey. It is entirely possible that MSS qāf 43 or qāf 243 in the library represent the same manuscript and that the collection has been mixed up since that record was made. It is also likely that the large collection of lithograph and printed books in the library contains a handful of manuscript volumes that did not end up as part of the survey.

maintenance of large manuscript collections, eventually overtaking its predecessors in terms of the number of manuscript collections. The third example, Sālim's teacher Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, completes the orbit of Ibāḍī manuscripts by bringing in the Mzab valley. In addition, the history of the collection associated with him demonstrates the changes to the material network following the loss of one of its principal geographic hubs.

### *Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish* (*d.1965*)

The importance of this third and final figure for modern Ibāḍī history extends well beyond the network of manuscripts and the orbit of Ibāḍī books. Nephew and student of the famous *Quṭb al-a'imma*, Shaykh Amuḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish (d.1914),[499] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish was born in 1886 in Benisguen, Algeria. Whereas Saʿīd al-Bārūnī and Sālim b. Yaʿqūb and their manuscript collections represented a standard circuit of the Ibāḍī students and scholars of the Nafūsa mountains and Jarba, Abū Isḥāq's journeys emphasize the distinction attained by the Ibāḍīs of the Mzab valley and the centrality of this region in the formation of large manuscript collections by the onset of the early modern period. Following his primary education in the Mzab, Abū Isḥāq continued his studies first in Algiers and then in Tunis, where he studied at the Zaytūna mosque under the two great Tunisian juridical figures Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ʿAshūr and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jaʿayyiṭ.[500] In Tunis, he became

[499] Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:399–406.

[500] Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 42; Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:24.

associated with the newly founded *Dustūr* party, which along with his outspoken opposition to French colonialism earned him an exile in Egypt.[501]

In Cairo, Abū Isḥāq continued as an active participant in the anti-colonial conversations already current in Egypt. He wrote for journals and newspapers, in addition to founding and editing the widely distributed journal, *Al-Minhāj.*[502] He counted among his friends an impressive list of both Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī reformers. His Ibāḍī colleagues included Abū l-Yaqẓān Ibrāhīm b. ʿAysā (d.1973), who composed a supplement to the *Kitāb al-siyar* in an effort to bring the prosopographical tradition up to date,[503] and the famous opponent of Italian occupation in Libya and international diplomat, reformer, and intellectual, Sulaymān al-Bārūnī (1873/4-1940).[504] His non-Ibāḍī colleagues were no less distinguished; these included Rashīd Riḍā, Sayyid Quṭb, and Ḥasan al-Bannā.[505]

In addition to his connections to the broader anti-colonial and Arab *nahḍa* circles, Abū Isḥāq also played an important role in the promotion and preservation of Ibāḍī manuscript culture. From the time of his arrival in Cairo, he served as the final *naẓīr* of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs,*[506] where he also

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[501] Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 106. Cf. a brief but informative biography of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm on the El-Minhāj website (belonging to the Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish Association in Ghardaia, Algeria): http://www.elminhaj.org/Abouishak.php [accessed 19 January 2016]

[502] *al-Minhāj. Majalla ʿilmiyya siyāsiyya ijtimāʿiyya nisf shahriyya.* Ed. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Iṭfayyish (Cairo, published bimonthly from 1925-30). The Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq in Ghardaia, Algeria published a reprinted, combined edition of *Al-Minhāj* in two volumes in the early 2000s. Cf. Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 51, f.269.

[503] Abū l-Yuqẓān's *Mulḥaq al-siyar* remains in manuscript form. For references see "Ibrāhīm b. ʿAisā Ḥamadī, Abū l-Yuqẓān" in Bābāʿammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), 2000, 2:27–30. For a summary of the contents and analysis, see Ibrāhīm b. Bakīr Baḥḥāz, "al-Shaykh Abū l-Yuqẓān Ibrāhīm wa kitābuhu [mulḥaq al-siyar]," *Majallat al-muwāfaqāt*, n.d., [available online at:] http://www.aboulyakdan.com/muafakat_7.htm.

[504] On his life and work see extensive references in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:91–95; Cf. Ghazal, "An Ottoman Pasha and the End of Empire: Sulayman al-Baruni and the Networks of Islamic Reform."

[505] Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 42–43.

[506] Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 103–7.

undertook the editing and printed publication of many Ibāḍī manuscripts.[507] In 1967, the Egyptian government confiscated the endowments maintaining the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* and the institution closed its doors definitively a few years later.[508] The fate of the *Wikāla*'s library now rested largely in Abū Isḥāq's hands. He sent some of the works back to the Mzab valley, especially to the library of his uncle in Benisguen.[509] Yet other works he took to his home.[510] A small collection also ended up in the Jabal Nafūsa.[511] An important (and as yet, imprecise) number of manuscripts also found its way to the *Dār al-Kutub* National Library in Cairo,[512] where Abū Isḥāq served as the director of the manuscripts division.

Like Saʿīd al-Bārūnī before him, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish's life followed a circuit along which Ibāḍī students and scholars had been moving for centuries. Born in the Mzab valley, which had risen to prominence in the 15th and 16th centuries, he then traveled to the great coastal cities of the Northern African littoral for education. Although not by choice, he then traveled to Egypt where the

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[507] On Abū Isḥāq's editing of manuscripts see Muṣṭafa Ibn al-Ḥājj Bakīr Ḥammūda, "Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish al-Jazā'irī: muḥaqqiq kitāb 'al-Malāḥīn' li Ibn Druayd anmūthajan," *El-Minhāj: dawriyya ʿilmiyya mutakhaṣṣiṣa fi makhṭūṭāt al-ibāḍiyya wa-wādī mīzāb fi wathā'iqihā al-arshīfiyya* 1 (2011): 22–51.

[508] "Inhiyār al-waqf" in Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fi miṣr*, 187–88. Cf. discussion in Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 43.

[509] On the manuscripts from the Wikālat al-jāmūs in the Maktabat al-Quṭb in Benisguen, see "Kutub waradat min miṣr al-qāhira: wikālat al-jāmūs" in *Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat mu'allafāt al-shaykh al-ʿallāma Amuḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish al-Yasjanī al-shahīr bi-l-quṭb*, 44–50.

[510] Later, after the books had passed on to his relatives through inheritance, the (now) Grand Mufti of the Sultanate of Oman, Aḥmad al-Khalīlī, purchased them from his family.

[511] This statement is based on correspondence with Martin Custers, who kindly sent me an entry on Sālim b. Yaʿqūb from his forthcoming second edition to his *al-Ibāḍīyya: A Bibliography*, in which he writes: "On 7 Feb. 2007, on www.tawalt.com , a website designed by Muḥammad Umādī, it was announced that his organization had acquired 21 MSS from the former Wikālat al-Jāmūs, copied by Nafūsīs. These MSS were brought to the library of Tawalt in Paris, and, unfortunately, before I had the opportunity to go to Paris and have a look at them, they were transported to Morocco, where Umādī moved to." [Personal correspondence with author, 8/7/2015].

[512] No one has yet undertaken an exhaustive survey of Ibāḍī manuscripts in the *Dār al-kutub* in Egypt, although a great number of references have been compiled in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006.Copies of the prosopographies include: Ḍār al-Kutub MS *ḥā'* 10418, "Ṭabaqāt al-Ibāḍiyya;" MS *ḥā'* 8591, "Kitāb al-siyar;" MS *ḥā'* 8456, "al-Jawāhir al-muntaqāt;" MS *tārīkh* 769, [No title]; MS *ḥā'* 9112, "Siyar Abī al-Rabīʿ Sulyāmān…al-Wisyānī."

Maghribi and Mashriqi Ibāḍī communities had maintained a hub of intellectual and commercial activity in the form of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs*. In addition to following the traditional networks of the Northern African Ibāḍī circuit, Abū Isḥāq lived in a time in which, as Amal Ghazal has recently shown, the Ibāḍī community was fast becoming more tightly knit and decidedly trans-regional, connected by circuits of people and books (both printed and manuscript) extending from Algeria to Zanzibar to Oman.[513]

The manuscripts of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs,* like those of the Bārūniyya library, followed a similar trajectory to that of Abū Isḥāq himself. By 1956, the *Wikāla* had come to hold manuscripts written in the hands of hundreds of different Ibāḍīs from throughout Northern Africa, the East African coast, and Western Asia. Those manuscripts represented a material network connecting the people and places of those regions together in one central hub. Following the dissolution of that hub, the manuscripts returned along the same orbits traversed by the copyists who produced them back to the Mzab valley, the Jabal Nafūsa, and Oman.

**The Orbits of the Ibāḍī Prosopographies in Comparative Context**

The final section of this chapter turns its attention to manuscript works outside the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition as a way of providing some comparative context for the orbital circuits proposed above. The following is a catalog-based survey of the following texts from libraries

[513] Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*.

throughout Northern Africa and Oman,[514] aimed at identifying both similarities and differences with the historical production and geo-temporal distribution of Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus.

1. *Kitāb al-tartīb* (attr. to) Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Wārjalānī (d.1174/5)[515]
2. *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* (attr. to) Abū Sākin ʿĀmir b. ʿAlī al-Shammākhī (d.1389)[516]
3. *Kitāb al-waḍʿ* (attr. to) Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā b. al-Khayr al-Janāwanī (d. 11th c.)[517]
4. *Kitāb al-ʿadl wa l-inṣāf* (attr. to) Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Wārjalānī (d.1174/5)[518]
5. *Kitāb al-suʾālāt* (attr. to) Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Khalīfa al-Sūfī (d.12 c.)[519]

These works dating from the 11th to the 13th century, all of which have enjoyed long manuscript traditions, make up part of the 'core curriculum' of pre-modern Northern African Ibāḍī education.[520] That is, they represent some of the texts that alongside the Quran would have served as the primary

[514] The catalog survey draws from the entries in the *al-Barrādī* search engine developed by the Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq in Ghardaia. This engine currently (2016) searches all collections cataloged by the Association and the Jamʿiyyat ʿAmmī Saʿīd, which includes most major manuscript libraries in the Mzab valley as well as the Bārūniyya library in Jarba, the collection of Shaykh Aḥmad Khalīlī in Oman, and those manuscripts housed in the collections of the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture in Oman.

[515] This work, also known by the larger title *Kitāb al-tartīb fī al-ṣaḥīh* represents *the* principal collection of Prophet ḥadīth in Maghribi Ibāḍī communities. It is actually a revised and compiled verson of several collections of Prophetic traditions, associated with *inter alia* Baṣran-era Ibāḍī Imam Abū al-Rabī l-Ḥābīb, whose work *al-Musnad* or *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīh* represents the primary collection of ḥadīth in Omani Ibāḍī communities. The two works are connected in terms of their manuscript history, but *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* is only a part of the *Kitāb al-tartīb.* The distribution of manuscript copies in libraries today reflects this long term history, with the *Kitāb al-tartīb* found primarily in Maghribi libraries and the *Musnad* of Abū al-Rabīʿ found primarily in Omani libraries. Printed editions in the 20th century did much to make the two spheres of Ibāḍī communities aware of one another. See *Kitāb al-tarīb* in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:344–46. Cf. "Closed and Open Scholarship: Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Wārjalānī" in Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*, 430–37.

[516] This work represents one of the principal compendiums of Ibāḍī *fiqh* from the Middle Period. On manuscript copies and printed editions see "Kitāb al-īḍāḥ" in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2006, 2:282–85.

[517] An important work in *furūʿ* from the Middle Period, on printed editions and commentaries see "K. al-Waḍʿ (fī ʾl-furūʿ) wa-bi-Hāmishi…" in Ibid., 2:176–78.

[518] This is a work of Ibāḍī jurisprudence *ikhtilāf* literature in the Middle Period. On manuscript copies and print editions see " K. al-ʿAdl waʾl-Inṣāf fī Maʿrifat ūṣūl al-fiqh waʾl-Ikhtilāf" in Ibid., 2:337–38.

[519] This work of *ʿaqīda* from the 12th c. enjoyed centuries of popularity in manuscript form. On extant copies see "K. al-Suʾālāt" in Ibid., 2:298.

[520] In using the term 'core curriculum,' I have in mind something akin to the historic core curriculum analyzed by Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart for early modern West Africa. See Bruce S. Hall and Charles C. Stewart, "The Historic 'Core Curriculum' and the Book Market in Islamic West Africa," in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2011), 109–74.

readings or objects of study for Maghribi Ibāḍī scholars-in-training.[521] The large number of extant commentaries (*ḥāshiya* or *sharḥ*) and *mukhtaṣar*s of these texts reinforces their popularity.[522]

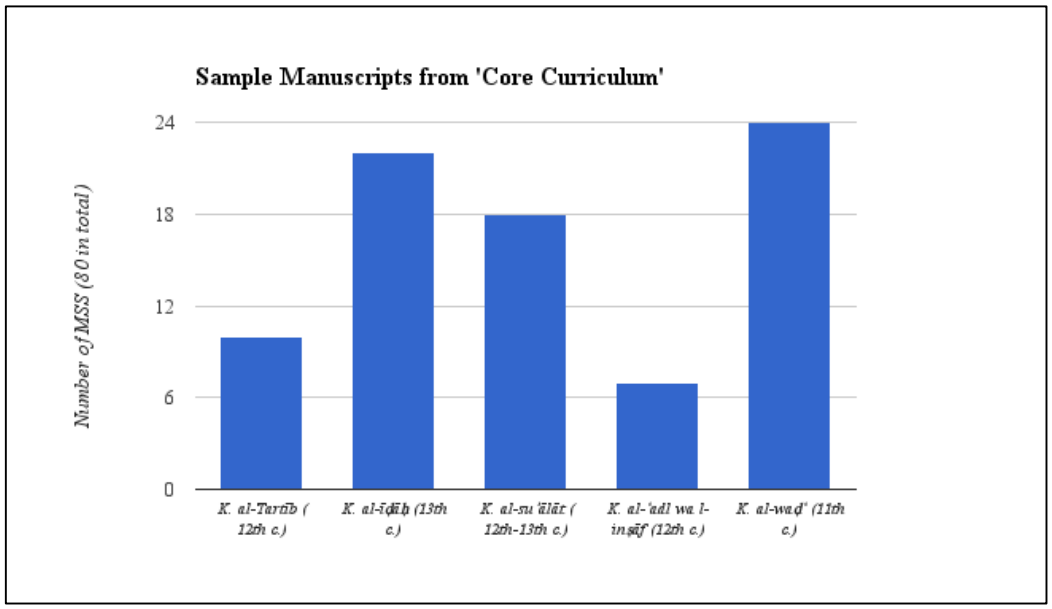


**Figure 46: Sample of Core Curriculum Texts. This corpus of 80 manuscripts comes from libraries across Northern Africa and two collections from Oman.**

[521] I suspect the core-curriculum of Ibāḍīs in pre-modern Oman would have differed dramatically, given the limited contact between the two regions up until the 19th century. The two spheres would have of course overlapped with regard to traditions relating to the earliest Ibāḍī communities of Basra, but in regards to the Middle Period (11th-16th centuries), they would have remained distinct curricula.

[522] Each of the five works from the sample core curriculum has a long history of commentaries (*ḥawāshī* and *shurūḥ*). From Mzab libraries and the Bārūniyya library in Jarba alone, the "al-Barrādī" search engine from Jamʿiyyat Abī Isḥāq in Ghardaia shows the following number of commentaries: *Kitāb al-tartīb* (10); *Kitāb al-ʿadl wa l-inṣāf* (9); *Kitāb al-waḍʿ* (9); *Kitāb al-īḍāh* (3); *Kitāb al-suʾālāt* (4). The Bin Yaʿqūb library in Jarba also houses numerous *shurūḥ* and *ḥawāshī* on these and other core curriculum Ibāḍī texts. E.g. from complete titles in the preliminary inventory: Makt. Bin Yaʿqūb MS *sīn* 2, "Ḥāshiyya ʿalā sharḥ *al-ʿAdl*;" MS *sīn* 12, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-ʿAdl wa sharḥuhu* [sic]; MS *kāf* 5, *Ḥāshiyat Ibn Abī Sitta ʿalā al-juzʾ al-thālith min Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*; MS *kāf* 23, *Sharḥ ʿUmar al-Tilātī ʿalā mukhtaṣar al-Shammākhī* [*al-ʿAdl wa l-inṣāf*].

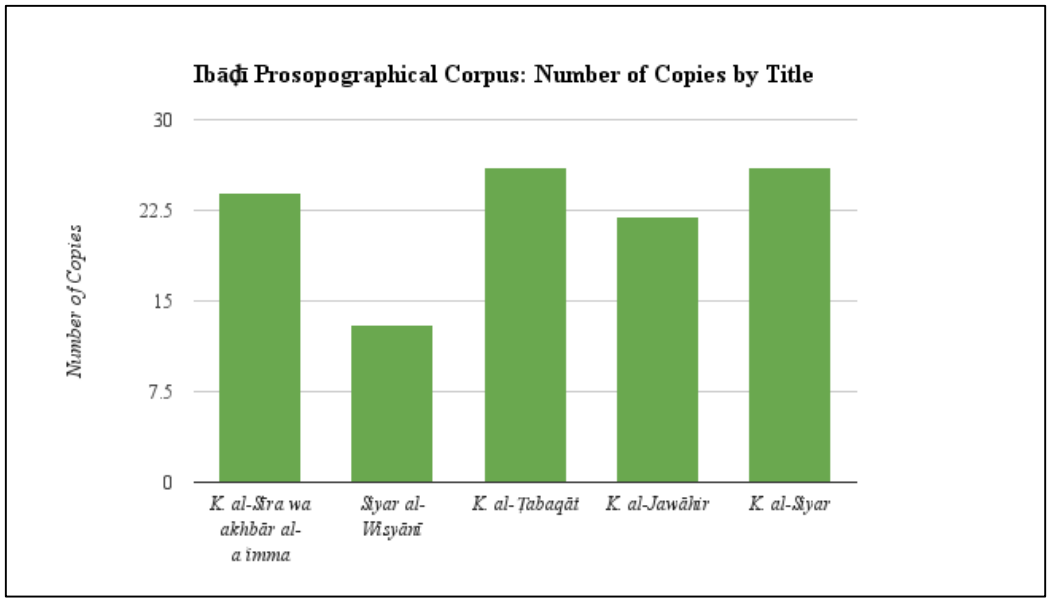


**Figure 47: Graph showing the extant number of copies of each of the five main Ibāḍī prosopographical texts (totaling 112 copies).**

The number of extant copies of these titles conforms generally to the extant Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus (Figures 45 and 46), suggesting that the prosopographical works and their historical trajectories and orbits of transmission represent broader trends.[523] More specifically, however, these five works from the 'core curriculum' reflect similar contours to the temporal distribution of Ibāḍī manuscript survival and production. As in the case of the prosopographies, far fewer manuscripts have survived from the 14th-16th centuries than for later periods, although with a slightly larger number of extant copies from the late medieval period. Likewise, these comparisons also demonstrate the importance of the 17th to 19th centuries for the production of Ibāḍī manuscripts in Northern Africa (Figure 47). Consistent with the evidence from the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus, this core period of the operation of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* witnessed the vast majority of transcriptions in the sample.

[523] E.g., Sālim b. Yaʿqūb (d.1991), the founder of the eponymous library in Jarba, collected numerous copies of these works and the prosopographies during his time in Cairo in the first half of the 20th century. On the preliminary inventory of his library, see "Sālim b. Yaʿqūb and the Bin Yaʿqūb Library in Jarba" above.

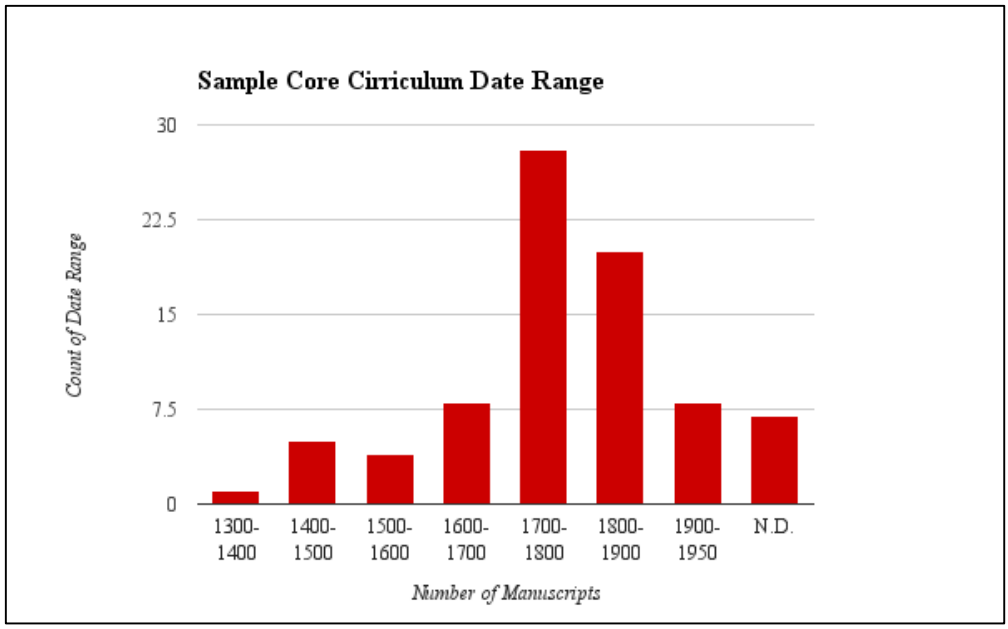


**Figure 48: Temporal distribution of the sample core curriculum. Noteworthy are the spikes in manuscript production in the 18th and 19th centuries.**

While the colophons of many of the manuscripts from this sample core curriculum do not mention their place of transcription, those that do consistently mention the *Wikālat al-jāmūs.*[524] According to colophon and *waqf* statements, at least 12 manuscript copies from this sample (15% of the total) were transcribed there.[525] Furthermore, the geographic distribution of these manuscripts in current archives reinforces the contours of the orbit of Ibāḍī manuscripts proposed above (Figure 48).

[524] In some cases, colophons mention that the manuscript was transcribed in the *Wikālat al-jāmūs.* In other cases, the manuscript's location of transcription derives from a *waqf* statement, endowing the manuscript to the *Wikāla*. Yet other colophons note that the manuscript was copied in the the 'Egyptian abodes/houses' (*al-diyār al-miṣriyya*), which sometimes refers to the *Wikāla* and its Ibāḍī school and residence in the Ṭūlūn district.

[525] Makt. Al-Shaykh Ḥammū Bābā wa Mūsa, MS *ḥāʾ mīm* 49 (dated Shaʿbān 1191 / September-October 1777); MS *ḥāʾ mīm* 32 (dated Shaʿbān 1304 / April-May 1887); Makt. Āl Faḍl, MS *dāl ʿāyn* 010 (dated Ramaḍān 1139 / April-May 1727); Makt. al-Khalīlī, MS 46 (dated Jumādā al-ūlā 1214 / October 1799); MS 49 (dated 3 Ramaḍān 1133/ 8 July 1721); MS 55 (dated 6 Rabīʿ al-thānī 1225 / 13 May 1810); MS 72 (dated Shaʿbān 1198 / June-July 1784); Makt. Al-Khizāna al-ʿāmma (*Jamʿiyyat ʿAmmī Saʿīd*), MS *mīm* 18 (dated late Shaʿbān 1166 / mid-late June 1753); Makt. Al-Istiqāma, MS *alif* 98 (dated 16 Rabīʿ al-awwal / 27 April 1679); MS 60 (dated 3 Shawwāl 1304 / 25 June 1887); Makt. Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Laʿalī, MS *mīm* 222 (dated 5 Rajab 1273 / 2 March 1857); Makt. Al-Ḥājj Bābakr, MS *bābakr* 21 (dated Jumānā al-thānī 1141 / January 1729).

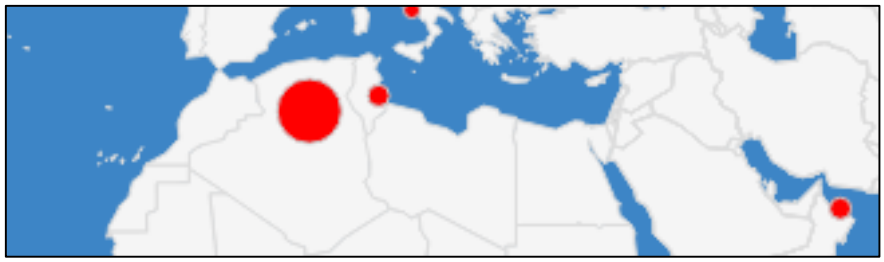

Figure 49: Geo-distribution of the sample core curriculum.

The two main sites represented in Northern Africa, the Mzab valley and the island of Jarba, belong to the late medieval and early modern orbit of manuscripts in which the prosopographies moved. Upon closer investigation, the somewhat surprising absence of Egypt and the large representation of Oman in this distribution actually support the centrality of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in the orbit of Ibāḍī manuscripts from the late medieval period up to the 20th century.[526] The majority of these texts from the sample core curriculum currently housed in Oman originated in the *Wikālat al-jāmūs.* These manuscripts, originally belonging to the endowed library of the *Wikāla*, were purchased in the 20th century by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khalīlī.[527]

**Conclusion**

From the Middle Period through the 20th century, the Ibāḍī prosopographies moved along long-established circuits connecting key sites of manuscript production in Northern Africa. Manuscript books, along with the people who copied and used them, traveled along these orbital circuits dotted

[526] E.g. from the sample 'core curriculum:' Makt. al-Khalīlī, MS 46 (dated Jumādā al-ūlā 1214 / October 1799); MS 49 (dated 3 Ramaḍān 1133/ 8 July 1721); MS 55 (dated 6 Rabīʿ al-thānī 1225 / 13 May 1810); MS 72 (dated Shaʿbān 1198 / June-July 1784). The only example from the prosopographical corpus is a copy of al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar* (Makt. al-Khalīlī, MS 139 [N.D., 18th c.?]).

[527] Muṣlaḥ, *al-Waqf al-jarbī fī miṣr*, 124, f.1.

with hubs of human and textual contact. These hubs did not remain static, however, and no doubt changed throughout the Middle Period as Ibāḍī communities faced increasing challenges to their collective existence. Following the disappearance of Tāhart in the 10th century and the loss of the Jarīd, the Zāb, and the medieval city of Sadrāta in the following few centuries, Maghribi Ibāḍī communities centered in three principal geographic hubs from the 15th century forward: the Mzab valley, the island of Jarba, and the mountains of Nafūsa. Just as the small number of Ibāḍī manuscripts from the centuries before this centralization reflect the loss of those intellectual centers, so too does the large number preserved in the three hubs of the late medieval and early modern period reflect the relative stability of the 15th-20th centuries.

Somewhat surprisingly, what was perhaps the greatest hub of the material network lay outside the Maghrib: the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* in Cairo. From its founding in the late 16th century to the closing of its doors in the second half of the 20th, the *Wikāla* brought Ibāḍīs from these different centers in the Maghrib together with each other as well as their coreligionists from Oman and, in the 19th and 20th centuries, East Africa. The trajectories of the three scholars described in this chapter mirror this significant expansion of the production of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and other Ibāḍī manuscripts, as well as reiterating the orbital movement of texts along longstanding circuits of people and books.

Finally, the brief comparison of the history and movement of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus with that of a sample of the 'core curriculum' suggests that the prosopographies relate the story of the orbit of Ibāḍī manuscripts in the long term: the material network. On the narrative level, the prosopographies constructed links among generations of scholars across time and space to form a written network, one that overcame geographic or temporal distances of all kinds to bring together

the Ibāḍī community. Similarly, the material network linked the different Ibāḍī communities of Northern Africa in a tangible way through the movement of paper, manuscript books, and the people who carried and used them. As the Ibāḍī prosopographies formed these written and material networks, occasionally adapting to changing circumstances but never ceasing in their orbit, they together constructed and maintained an Ibāḍī tradition in Northern Africa.

# Conclusion:
# The Ibāḍī Prosopographies in the *longue durée*

The compilation, transcription, and transmission of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus from the Middle Period to the 20th century exemplifies the metaphor with which this study began: books speaking to other books. The intertextual nature of the corpus, the ways in which its component texts build upon and refer to one another, and the way in which each situates itself within the prosopographical tradition as a whole demonstrate the process of the construction and maintenance of a written network of Ibāḍī scholars from the 11th to the 16th centuries.

Likewise, the manuscript tradition that enabled the conversations between these texts and the people who used them testifies to the long-term continuation of that process well beyond the end of the medieval prosopographical tradition from the 16th to the 20th centuries. In other words, by speaking to one another, the Ibāḍī prosopographies helped create a cumulative vision of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib and its history over the *longue durée*. This corpus typifies the diachronic character of and interaction among the historical artifacts (manuscripts), a cumulative religious tradition (Ibāḍism), and its practitioners (Ibāḍīs). This study has demonstrated this interaction and its results in two distinct but interrelated ways, each of which corresponds broadly to one of two different historical periods.

From the 11th to the 16th centuries Ibāḍī scholars composed, transmitted, and augmented a corpus of prosopographical literature (*siyar*) in an effort to preserve the memory and boundaries of

their tradition. Each of the five works of the corpus corresponds roughly to one of the five centuries of the Middle Period. The first work of the corpus, the *Kitāb al-sīra*, emerged out of the rapidly changing political and religious landscapes of the mid-11th century. The Rustamid dynasty had long since disappeared and the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib now faced (or, at least, *believed* they faced) an existential threat on two fronts. On the first stood the danger of the disintegration of the collective memory of the history of the Ibāḍīs. On the second stood the linguistic, religious, and political marginalization of Ibāḍīs in the post-Fatimid Maghrib. The *Kitāb al-sīra* responded explicitly to these threats by chronicling the history of Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa up to the Fatimid conquest and, crucially, connecting that distant past to a more recent one in the form of anecdotes and biographies of scholars of the the 10th and early 11th centuries. In linking the two periods, the *Kitāb al-sīra* constructed a written network that justified the emerging system of the *ʿazzāba*. The visualization of that network showed the centrality of a handful of figures in constructing that connection between the glorified Rustamid past and the beginning of the Middle Period. Structurally and thematically, the *Kitāb al-sīra* set the standards for the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition.

The second work of the corpus, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī*, represented both the continuation and augmentation of the work begun by its predecessor. The introduction to this composite work explicitly situated itself in the tradition of the *Kitāb al-sīra,* mentioning the latter's attributed compiler by name and echoing the importance of preserving the memory of the community through writing. Regardless of the origins of the various manuscripts traditions associated with this text, the cumulative result of the anecdotes and biographies related by the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* was the maintenance and extension of the written network into the 12th century. The growing importance of

manuscript books, reflected in the many stories about books and written materials in the *Siyar*, helps explain the appearance and convergence of the different manuscript traditions that eventually produced it. Furthermore, the *Siyar* marks a move toward distinguishing Ibāḍīs from their contemporaries on both the internal and external levels. The divisions separating Ibāḍīs from others in the 11th and 12th century Maghrib worked in concert with the links established among Ibāḍī scholars themselves to mark the external boundaries of their religious community. In addition, the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* marked the internal boundaries of the community. By highlighting the impermissibility of their books or their unsuccessful efforts to create their own *ʿazzāba* councils, the text marginalized the Nukkārī Ibāḍīs and reified the community whose scholars' lives it chronicled. The *Siyar al-Wisyānī* also added a spatial component to this process of delineation by dividing anecdotes and biographies into the geographic regions of the Ibāḍī archipelago. Visualizing this geographic aspect of the written network of the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* highlighted the importance of particular regions, while additional visualizations demonstrated how the written network of the 12th century built upon its predecessor from the *Kitāb al-sīra* in the 11th century.

The 13th century witnessed an important change to the prosopographical tradition with the composition of the third book of prosopography, al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*. This was the first authored work of the tradition, exemplifying a move toward the formalization of the narrative history of the Ibāḍī community. The *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* also formalized the Ibāḍī written network in several different ways. First of all, it absorbed, refined, and repurposed the text and written network of the *Kitāb al-sīra* by placing the text in dialogue with other written works from both inside and outside the Ibāḍī tradition. Secondly, al-Darjīnī composed an introduction to his revised version of the *Kitāb al-*

*sīra* in which he explicitly defined the *ʿazzāba*, their responsibilities and duties, and their functioning role as leaders of the Ibāḍī community.

Al-Darjīnī's choice of the *ṭabaqāt* format of fifty-year increments into which he divided Ibāḍī history provided a precise temporal division of the written network, one in which individuals needed only to be contemporaries in order to be linked. This framework, alongside al-Darjīnī's references to written Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī works, also speaks to a growing convergence with the practice of composing history and biography current among his non-Ibāḍī Muslim contemporaries with the 13th century. In this way, the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāṭ* belongs to the historical context of both the Maghrib and broader trends in Ibāḍī Islam in 12th and 13th centuries. On the regional level, the prosopographies reflect changes to the religious and political landscape, including the arrival of and, afterward, opposition to the Almohads, as well as the growing popularity of Sufism. In terms of the larger development of Ibāḍī Islam, al-Darjīnī's movement toward the formalization of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition mirrors processes described in earlier scholarship tending toward the formalization of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib and the 'madhhabization' process in the Mashriq.

Equally important for explaining the appearance and source-base of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* was the widespread use of paper by the 13th century as a medium for the preservation and transmission of ideas. The *ṭabaqāt* structure also lent itself to an analysis of the temporal distribution of the written network, which highlighted the importance of the 10th and 11th centuries (the formative *ʿazzāba* period) to the structure of the network. In addition, however, the analysis of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* highlighted the relatively minor numerical importance of the scholars of the 12th and 13th centuries to

the network structure, despite their having been the generations that produced the seminal works of medieval Ibāḍī jurisprudence and theology in Northern Africa.

The next work in the prosopographical corpus, al-Barrādī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, moved backward rather than forward in time in its efforts to maintain the written network and expand it retroactively. Al-Barrādī sought to fill the gap of the 'first *ṭabaqa*' left by al-Darjīnī in his work. He offered what by the 14th century would have been a recognizable history of Islam including the life of the Prophet and the early community, but also with the uniquely Ibāḍī feature of culminating in the Rustamid dynasty. In doing so, al-Barrādī presented Ibāḍī history as the history of Islam. His rich array of sources also pointed to the existence of Ibāḍī manuscript collections and libraries in the 14th century. Beyond his explicit references to Ibāḍī and non-Ibāḍī works throughout the first part of the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, al-Barrādī also composed an unusually detailed inventory of Ibāḍī written works in the form of a book list, which almost always appears in the same manuscript tradition as the *Jawāhir*. While the first part of al-Barrādī's work did not lend itself to network analysis, visualizations of the book list that followed it suggested the relative importance of certain genres like jurisprudence and theology to Ibāḍī scholars of the 14th century, as well as demonstrating the familiarity of Northern African scholars with some works of their Mashriqi coreligionists. In this way, the material reality represented in the book list mirrors the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*'s goals to expand the written network well beyond the geographic and temporal confines of the medieval Maghrib, and of linking it with a much grander narrative in which Ibāḍī history becomes Islamic history writ large.

The final work in the corpus, the *Kitāb al-sīra*, demonstrates how all of the narrative and contextual developments relating to the written network created and maintained by the

Ibāḍī prosopographies, as summarized here, worked in concert to produce the fifth and final work of the corpus in the early 16th century: the linking of the Rustamids to the *ʿazzāba*, the definition of the external and internal boundaries of the Ibāḍī community, the growing importance of paper, the systematic temporal and conceptual formalization of the community's past, the retroactive linking of Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib with Islamic origins, and the noting of connections between eastern and western Ibāḍī communities.

The *Kitāb al-siyar* represents the end of the medieval prosopographical tradition in that its compiler summarized and united all of the previous works in the corpus, both by absorbing their anecdotes and by explicitly bringing all four of his predecessors' biographies into the network. Al-Shammākhī's *Siyar*, like those works before it, likewise reflects the changes Ibāḍī communities had experienced by the late 15th and early 16th century. By that point, the Ibāḍīs had more or less settled into the geographic hubs in the Maghrib that remained the centers of their intellectual life for centuries afterward. As in the past, Ibāḍī scholars were continually on the move, and in his interactions with Hafsid-era Ifrīqiyā al-Shammākhī exemplified the interaction of Ibāḍīs with their late medieval contemporaries. By sharing the spaces of trade and education with other Maghribis of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and by benefiting from the development of endowed collections of Ibāḍī manuscripts, al-Shammākhī achieved unprecedented access to the many written works he used to compile his *Kitāb al-siyar*.

The second half of this study followed the medieval Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus from the 16th century up to the 20th century by tracing the evidence left by its material remains: the extant manuscript corpus of each of these five works. The results of the manuscript survey demonstrated

that the majority of extant copies of the prosopographies date to stages corresponding broadly to important periods of the early modern and modern history of the Ibāḍī community in the Maghrib. Furthermore, it showed that most of the early copies of the prosopographies date precisely to the *end* of the prosopographical tradition itself in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

The manuscript evidence also reflects the Ibāḍī manuscript culture that constituted the infrastructure for the material network of the prosopographies from the late Middle Period to the 20th century. In addition to yielding insights into the history of the paper trade in Northern Africa and the Mediterranean through watermark evidence, the manuscripts highlight the contours of the manuscript tradition that allowed for the transmission of texts like the prosopographies over the long term. The earliest copies of the prosopographies from the 14th-16th centuries reflect the rise of the Mzab valley as a center for manuscript production alongside the long-established centers of Jarba and the Jabal Nafūsa. These earliest manuscripts also point to similarities between Ibāḍī manuscript culture in the Maghrib (like manuscript collation and informal audition) and practices current elsewhere in the Mashriq.

The early modern copies of the prosopographies evince the centrality of the *Wikālat al-jāmūs* as a center of Ibāḍī manuscript culture and production from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Stylistic features and bindings of the prosopographies from these centuries, such as full leather bindings with mandorla and other embossed designs, also situate Ibāḍī manuscripts within the broader world of Arabic manuscript production in the Ottoman-era. Conversely, certain physical features, such as the preference among Ibāḍī scholars of the Mzab for unbound textblocks, point at once to local tastes and to the practice of lending and copying manuscripts by the quire.

The late 19th-and 20th-century copies of the prosopographies, dating as late as the 1970s, demonstrate the long-term relevance of manuscript culture to Ibāḍī communities and its importance in the transmission of the prosopographical corpus. The almost complete absence of 20th-century manuscript copies of the two works of prosopographies that appeared in print at the end of the 19th century, the *Kitāb al-siyar* and the *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, speaks to the widespread distribution networks of Ibāḍī print houses. At the same time, the large number of extant manuscripts from the 20th century of the other three works that did not appear in print until the late 20th century emphasizes the decades-long overlap between Ibāḍī manuscript production and printing.

The language of orbits expresses the constant movement of the manuscripts of the prosopographies and the material network they constructed and maintained. From the earliest extant copies of the prosopographies to the latest, the material network consisted of elliptic circuits connecting hubs of intellectual activity: Jarba, the Jabal Nafūsa, the Mzāb valley, and the *Wikālat al-Jāmūs* in Cairo. The people and books that followed these circuits collectively maintained the material network through their movement. Scholars and books departing from one location would more often than not return to their point of origin, albeit not necessarily in the same form. Ibāḍī scholars sometimes physically returned home after having studied elsewhere, but they also came back in the form of their students or written works. Likewise, a book could return to its point of origin in the form of a manuscript copy.

Conceptualizing this material network and the movement of its components as orbital also captures the constant inward and outward flow of people and books that insured the regular circulation of information among different key locations in spaces, which in turn allowed for the

maintenance of the written network over long spans of time. The example of three important scholars from the late 19th and 20th centuries conveyed this orbital character of the material network and its constituent circuits: Saʿīd al-Bārūnī, Sālim b. Yaʿqūb, and Abū Isḥāq Aṭfayyish. Each of these individuals represented a different component of the regular orbital movement of people and books that made up a material network, which in turn maintained a written network preserved in the memories of people and on the pages of manuscripts for centuries to come.

At the end of his discussion of diplomatic orbits in the Mediterranean over the *longue durée,* Wansbrough concluded by writing:

> The significance of all this is the emergence of a self-perpetuating infrastructure which operates irrespective of particular policies or participants. If that is merely what is expected of any bureaucracy, its components would nonetheless before coalescence have had separate histories.[528]

Similarly, while each of the works of the Ibāḍī prosopographical tradition possesses its own history, after centuries of coalescence into a corpus they collectively constructed and maintained something much bigger. While the history of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and the written and material networks they constructed and maintained amount to more than "merely what is expected of any bureaucracy," the story of their nearly millennium-long transmission and expansion does suggest something like a "self-perpetuating infrastructure that operates irrespective of particular policies or participants."

The Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus resulted from the accumulation nearly a millennium of interactions between people and people, people and books, and books and books. Despite dramatic changes in the political, linguistic, demographic, and religious landscapes of Northern Africa, this long, centuries old murmuring continued to reverberate well beyond the life of any individual person

[528] Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*, 74.

or manuscript. The constant, orbital movement of people and books allowed for the long-term maintenance of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus, creator and conservator of the historical narrative and collective memory of the Ibāḍī tradition in the Maghrib from the 11th to the 20th centuries.

# Coda:
# The Making of the Ibāḍī Prosopographical Corpus

Colonial-Era Scholarship and the Ibadi Prosopographies (1885-1962)

**Introduction**

Alongside the complex late medieval and early modern histories of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus discussed in the previous chapters, the fact that so many of the extant copies of these 'medieval' works date to the 19th and 20th centuries demands explanation. The demonstrable reality that the Ibāḍī manuscript tradition in Northern Africa survived into the 20th century helps to explain at least part of this phenomenon. In addition, historians and other scholars, whether Northern Africans or Europeans, *had* to rely on manuscript copies until at least the end of the 19th century because printed copies simply did not exist. Equally important to the development of the history and historiography of Ibāḍī Islam in Northern Africa, however, was the interest among colonial-era European Orientalists in the Ibāḍī prosopographies.[529]

This coda explores the role of the colonial-era scholarship and the introduction of printing in making the Ibāḍī prosopographies the principal body of texts upon which all later historical studies of Northern African Ibāḍī communities (including this one) came to rely. It suggests that the dominance

[529] Although this essay focuses on scholarship on the Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib from France, Algeria, and Poland, European academic interest in the Ibāḍī prosopographies was not limited to Francophone scholars. Several thematic essays in a forthcoming volume on the historiography of Ibāḍism present the significant contributions of Francophone, Italian, German, and Anglophone scholars: Eisener, *Today's Perspectives on Ibadi History and the Historical Sources*.

of the corpus in secondary studies from the 20th and 21st century, far from being a coincidence, testifies to the interaction of Ibāḍī communities with the world around them in the 19th and 20th centuries. In doing so, it argues that the transition of this corpus from manuscript to print belongs both to the long-term history of the Ibāḍī written network and to the history of European colonialism in Northern Africa.

Three brief examples can demonstrate this complex relationship between the European colonial-era scholarship and the Ibāḍī prosopographies. The first considers the publication history of the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*, which occupied a place of special importance among French colonial-era historians of Northern Africa from its first publication in the late 19th century through its final publication on the eve of Algerian independence in 1961. The second example looks briefly at the work of Polish historian Tadeusz Lewicki, who published dozens of articles in French (and a few in English) on Ibāḍī history. These studies relied almost entirely upon a corpus of prosopographical works in manuscript form held in university libraries in Lviv (Lwów) and Cracow (Kraków). The third and final example relates to editions of the prosopographical texts printed by Ibāḍī-owned and operated presses in Egypt and Algeria and how they contributed to the dissemination of knowledge about Ibāḍīs not only among educated Arabic-speaking populations in Western Asia and Africa but also to colonial-era European scholarship on Ibāḍī history.

**The *Kitāb al-sīra* and French Colonial Scholarship**

The construction of the grand narratives of Northern African history in colonial-era French scholarship occupies an important part of the modern historiography of the Maghrib.[530] By contrast, the political implications of colonial-era works on the study of Ibāḍī communities have largely remained muted in European and North American scholarship, even among specialists.[531] But Maghribi Ibāḍī texts and the history of Ibāḍī communities that have resulted from their publication in print bore intimate links to the politics and culture of French colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. No single Ibāḍī text exemplifies this point better than the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*, the first work of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus. This text appeared in French translation twice, in 1878 and in 1961, with each publication representing a different version of the web of relationships among the text, the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib, and the French colonial project in Algeria.

### *Masqueray and the 'Chronique d'Abou Zakaria'*

In his study of the misadventures of colonial-era French orientalist Emile Masqueray, Ouahmi Ould-Braham details the history of how the Ibadi chronicle known as the *Kitāb al-sīra* became the

[530] On colonial-era French scholarship on Northern Africa, see the study by Dulucq, *Écrire l'histoire de l'Afrique à l'époque coloniale, XIXe-XXe siècles*.

[531] This stands in strong contrast to many post-independence studies of Ibāḍī communities and the Maghrib written by many Northern African scholars. For example, Algerian historian Ibrāhīm Ṭallāy opened his 1974 printed edition to al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb ṭabaqāt* with an introduction that presents the *Ṭabaqāt* as an example of Algerian national literature: al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*. Tunisian historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ayyūb's more explicitly critiqued previous colonial-era scholarship in the introduction to his printed edition of the *Kitāb al-sīra wa akhbār al-a'imma.* In speaking of Masqueray, in particular, he wrote: "Worse than all of the preceding is the blatantly colonial spirit (*al-rūḥ al-istiʿmāriyya al-fijja*) that blackens the footnotes of the translator and his introduction, the likes of which we only find in the first generation of colonizers…. The translator strikes us with this inclination, bringing it to the fore at both appropriate and inappropriate times…All of this is repeated in the introduction and the footnotes with the pride and honor with which a feudal lord speaks of his lands and slaves." al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 30.

*Chronique d'Abou Zakariya.*[532] From the moment of his arrival in the Mzab valley in Algeria in 1878, Masqueray relentlessly petitioned the French government and other potential sources of funding for the financial support of his quest to gather Ibadi texts in the area. Masqueray initially encountered opposition to his attempts to access these texts from the Ibadi scholars in the city of Ghardaia. He nevertheless eventually succeeded in obtaining several manuscripts, as he proudly explained in a letter to his superior, by capitalizing on the antagonism between the Ibadi scholars in the Mzabi cities of Malika and Ghardaia.[533] Ultimately, Masqueray came away from his fieldwork with several manuscripts, which included not only the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma* but also several other important medieval and modern Ibāḍī works on history, jurisprudence, and theology.

During his time in the Mzab, Masqueray's perspective on the potential role of France in the region shifted toward advocating direct intervention. Ould-Braham's study hints that events relating to his attempts to obtain manuscripts from the Ibadi communities in the region may have had something to do with Masqueray's radical shift toward interventionism, though the reasons for the change remain obscure.[534] In any case, by the time Masqueray had succeeded in convincing his superiors to publish his edited translation of the *Kitāb al-sīra*,[535] he had moved in the direction of presenting the text as a source of information for colonial intervention in the region and, with the *Kitāb al-sīra* serving as the centerpiece for his description of Ibāḍīs in the Mzab. Masqueray based his translation one a single manuscript copy of the text, large portions of which had either gone missing

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[532] Ouahmi Ould-Braham, "Émile Masqueray au Mzab: à la recherche de livres ibâḍites," *Études et documents berbères*, no. 9 (1993): 5–35. This is one of a series of articles that led to his dissertation on Masqueray: Ould-Braham, "Émile Masqueray et les études linguistiques berbères."

[533] Ould-Braham, "Émile Masqueray au Mzab," 21.

[534] Ibid.

[535] Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*.

or which Masqueray had intentionally left out.[536] The study also included a detailed overview of Ibadi history based on both the *Kitāb al-sīra* and other manuscripts texts he had obtained from the Mzab, littered with references to French colonial interests in the southern Algeria.[537]

For decades following its publication in 1878, the *Chronique d'Abou Zakariya* effectively replaced the *Kitāb al-sīra* as a primary source because of the absence of a printed Arabic edition of the text. Moreover, the French translation rendered the text available to French and Francophone historians regardless of their knowledge of Arabic. Also connected to its prominent place among colonial-era historians were the annexation of the Mzab and the concomitant establishment of the French military post at Ghardaia in 1883, which insured future interest in and research on Ibāḍīs and the Mzab.[538] Guided by studies like Masqueray's, the French colonial presence in the Mzab would play out differently than in other parts of Algeria.

These differences included a series of individually tailored agreements with the Ibadi scholars (*'azzāba,* or 'tolba' in Masqueray's text) of the region[539] and a systematic marginalization of the Mzabi Jewish population that classified this population—unlike their northern coreligionists—as 'indigènes.'[540] In this light, Masqueray's *Chronique* marks the beginnings of systematic production of knowledge on the Ibadis of the Mzab relating to French colonial ambitions in the broader Sahara. French military interpreter Adolphe Motylinski demonstrated this link when he published the next

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536 "[At] the time in which [Masqueray undertook his translation], his level of Arabic did not exceed that of a French teacher in a secondary school in this language during the colonial period. In this context, we observe that the method followed by the translator was one in which he simply ignored the sentence[s] in which he found difficulty reading one of their words" al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb al-sīra*, 29.

537 Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, I–LXIXX.

538 See "Qarār ilḥāq mzāb bi-faransā" in: Ibn Bakīr al-Ḥājj Saʿīd, *Tārīkh banī mzāb: dirāsa ijtimāʿiyya wa-iqtiṣādiyya wa-siyasiyya*, 151–53.

539 Fatma Oussedik, *Relire les Itiffaqat: essai d'interprétation sociologique* (Algiers: ENAG Editions, 2007).

540 Sarah Stein, *Saharan Jews and the Fate of French Algeria* (Chicago; London: University Of Chicago Press, 2014).

major study of Ibadi texts and manuscripts in 1887 and began by noting that he was following up on the work of Masqueray and that the French military presence in Ghardaia had afforded him access to the texts in the first place.[541]

*Roger Letourneau and Roger Hady Idris*

If Masqueray's edition, whose appearance coincided with the French occupation and annexation of the Mzab valley, serves as a striking symbol of the relationship between Ibāḍī prosopographies and early French colonialism in Northern Africa, the revised French translation the *Kitāb al-sīra* that went into print on the eve of Algerian independence in 1960 and 1961 carries no less potency. Published in four installments in the Algiers-based journal *Revue Africaine*, a short preface to the new translation hints at the origins of the project:

> *La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyā'* n'était connue que par la traduction partielle qu'en avait donné Emile Masqueray en 1878…Depuis 1930, de nouveaux manuscrits, les uns fragmentaires, les autres complets, ont pu être découverts. Une équipe d'arabisants et d'historiens a pu s'atteler à la tâche pour publier le texte arabe intégral et sa traduction française annotée. La Revue Africaine est heureuse de pouvoir donner dans ce numéro le premier tiers de cette Chronique dont la traduction est due à M. le Professeur Roger Le Tourneau sur le texte établi par M. Charles Dalet, professeur honoraire du Lycée Bugeaud d'Alger.[542]

In the preface to the same volume of *Revue Africaine,* the notes from the General Assembly of the *Societé Historique Algérienne* on future publications clarified that the text would be published in the "traduction de MM. Le Tourneau et Idris basée sur le texte arabe établi par MM. E. [sic] Dalet et H. Pérès."[543] This "team of Arabists and historians" had initially planned a publication of the text

[541] Motylinski, "Bibliographie du Mzab. Les Livres de la secte abadhite."
[542] Letourneau, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyā' al-Wargalānī," 99.
[543] George Marçais, "Assemblée générale du 17 janvier 1960," *Revue Africaine* 104 (1960), 8.

(including an Arabic edition) as early as 1957 or 1958, but political events in Algeria had led to its delay; that is, the beginning of the Algerian revolution led by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). In light of the deteriorating political situation, LeTourneau had decided to leave Algeria and take up a post at the University of Aix-en-Provence in France.[544] Idris stayed behind in Algiers, and it is in their correspondence that the history of the publication of this text survives.

Charles Dalet, an instructor at a lycée in Algiers whose illness made him unable to follow through with its publication after he had established the Arabic text, collated the Arabic manuscripts upon which the four-installment translation was based.[545] At the suggestion of Henri Pérès, Dalet and LeTourneau agreed that LeTourneau would undertake its publication, including a French translation.[546] While their correspondence suggests that the original intention was to publish the text in Arabic, both LeTourneau's relocation to Provence and the political instability in Algeria led Pérès to suggest in 1959 that the translation be published in *Revue Africaine*.[547] When LeTourneau accepted a visiting professorship at Princeton University in the United States that year, Roger Idris took responsibility for the publication of the last two installments of the translation. Letters from LeTourneau's private archive reveal that both he and Idris relied on additional copies of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* held at the University of Algiers library in their revision of the

[544] Samir Saul, "Roger Le Tourneau : un historien de l'Afrique du Nord face à la décolonisation," *Outre-mers* 93, no. 350–1 (2006): 338.
[545] CAOM 7/APOM/12, letter from Dalet to LeTourneau, 13 December 1958.
[546] CAOM 7/APOM/12, letter from Pérès to LeTournea, 18 December 1958.
[547] CAOM 7/APOM/12, letter from Pérès to LeTourneau, 18 May 1959

Arabic text for translation.[548] The footnotes in the final two installments prepared by Idris make references to these manuscripts.[549]

Due to the deteriorating situation in Algeria, Idris also relocated to Bordeaux in 1962 following the publication of the translation in *Revue Africaine*.[550] As Samir Saul argued, the escalation of violence and polarity of opinions in and surrounding Algeria in the late 1950s likely pushed moderates in the academic community like LeTourneau and Idris to leave, silencing potential voices for moderation and compromise.[551] The violence of the Algerian struggle for independence appeared to be reaching its end by March 1962, when negotiations between the FLN and the French governments resulted in the Évian accords.[552] Only a few months later, however, a tragic event marked the symbolic end to the academic French colonial project in Algeria. On June 7th, the militant, pro-French Algeria group *L'Organisation Armée Secrète* (O.A.S.) set fire to the University of Algiers library and the ensuing flames devoured almost all of the manuscript holdings.[553] Among these victims were the manuscript copies of several Ibadi texts, including the *Kitāb al-sīra* and the *Kitāb al-ṭabāt*.[554] The only surviving traces of these and the hundreds of other lost manuscripts to survive were the French translation of

[548] A manuscript in LeTourneau's hand made from the University of Algiers library copy of al-Darjīnī survives in his personal archive (CAOM 7/APOM/3, "Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt").
[549] Idris made reference several times in his endnotes to "Ms. 509 de la Bibl. Universitaire d'Alger," which was presumably the shelf-mark for the univeristy library's copy of either the *Kitāb al-sīra* or the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*. See: Idris, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī: Deuxième partie," 370–74, fn. 238, 239, 243, 256, etc. Idris, "La Chronique d'Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wargalānī: Deuxième partie (suite)," f.160-162, fn. 349, 353.
[550] Dominique Sourdel, "Hady-Roger Idris (1912-1978)," *Revue des études Islamiques* 2, no. 46 (1978): 155–61.
[551] Saul, "Roger Le Tourneau : un historien de l'Afrique du Nord face à la décolonisation."
[552] Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*, 2nd. (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 520–23.
[553] See "III. L'incendie" in Abdallah, "Histoire de la Bibliothèque Universitaire d'Alger et de sa reconstitution après l'incendie du 7 juin 1962."
[554] These and other Ibāḍī manuscripts in the University of Algiers library probably belonged to a collection donated by Adolphe Motylinski in the late 1880s. See Zygmunt Smogorzewski, "Essai de bio-bibliographie ibadite-wahbite, avant-propos," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 5 (1927): 48.

the *Kitāb al-sīra* in *Revue Africaine* and a new manuscript copy of the Arabic text in LeTourneau's private archive dating to the mid-to-late 1950s.[555]

This second French translation of the *Kitāb al-sīra* demonstrates the intimate ties between the publication history of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and the French colonial project in Northern Africa. Like Masqueray and Motylinski before them, LeTourneau and Idris had access to manuscript copies of the *Kitāb al-sīra* thanks in large part to the French colonial presence in Algeria. But while Masqueray had arrived just prior to the occupation of the Mzab valley and ardently supported colonial intervention, LeTourneau and Idris operated in the French colonial powerhouse of knowledge about Northern Africa, the University of Algiers. That institution provided them with the manuscripts they needed to publish their translation of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, and *Revue Africaine* furnished them with the print outlet for disseminating that translation. As demonstrated by LeTourneau's private archive, the decision to publish only a translation resulted in large part from the rapidly changing political landscape in Algeria, a landscape in which escalating violence was helping silence the moderate voices of LeTourneau, Idris, and others like them.

These editions of the *Kitāb al-sīra* mark the beginning and the end of the French colonial presence in the Mzab valley, as well as of colonial-era French scholarship on Ibāḍī Islam. In addition to the intersections between the colonial project and the study of Ibāḍism demonstrated above, by privileging of the *Kitāb al-sīra*, Masqueray, LeTourneau, and Idris helped solidify the position of the *Kitāb al-sīra*—in French translation—as a principal source for later historians of Ibāḍī Islam in the

[555] This includes a full copy of the *Kitāb al-sīra* and a partial copy of al-Darjīnī's *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi l-maghrib:* CAOM 7/APOM12

20th century. Indeed, these French translations would remain the only version of the text accessible to other European historians until the partial publication in print of the Arabic text for the first time in 1979.[556]

**The Smogorzewski-Lewicki Manuscripts of Lviv and Krakow**

No single European scholar of the 20th century came close to writing as many works on Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa as did the Polish historian Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992). It was Lewicki's teacher, Zygmunt Smogorzewski (1884-1931), however, who amassed an impressive collection of Maghribi Ibāḍī manuscripts at the (then) University of Lwow. Smogorzewski had purchased this collection during visits to the the Mzab, Djerba, and Cairo during the early part of the 20th century in his capacity as both a linguist and as the Russian Tsar's ambassador to Algeria, often having had new copies made for himself.[557] As he himself noted in an essay on Ibāḍī bibliography, Smogorzewski intended to write a monograph on Ibāḍī historical literature.[558] However, he died before finishing it.[559]

Following the death of his teacher, Tadeusz Lewicki spent the next several decades researching and publishing articles relating to this collection. Following the Soviet, and later the German occupation, of Lviv during the Second World War, Lewicki fled to Krakow. Lewicki later

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[556] Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā ibn-Abī-Bakr al-Warjalānī, *Kitāb sīyar al-a'imma wa-akhbārihim*, ed. Ismāʿīl al-ʿArabī (Algiers: al-Maktaba al-Waṭanīya al-Jazā'ir, 1979). A much improved printed addition was edited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ayyūb under the more common title of *Kitāb al-sīra wa akhbār al-a'imma* (Tunis, 1985).
[557] Kościelniak, "The Contribution of Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992) to Islamic and West African Studies," 242, fn.3.
[558] Smogorzewski, "Essai de bio-bibliographie ibadite-wahbite, avant-propos."
[559] The work was later expanded and published by Lewicki as Tadeusz Lewicki, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibādites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du Vllle au XVle siècle.* (Krakow: Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddzia Krakowie, Komisja Orientalistyczna, 1962).

wrote that it was thanks to Marian Lewicki, a Polish specialist in Turkish and Mongolian studies, that some of the manuscripts from the Lviv collection made their way to Poland with him.[560] The remainder of the collection stayed in Lviv, which remained part of the USSR until 1991 with the independence of Ukraine. Today, the collection is held in the Ivan Franko National University Special Collections Library in Lviv.[561]

Notes on the collection as a whole, and especially the copies of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and other texts that ended up in Krakow, furnished Lewicki with rich materials for the study of Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa. He wrote dozens of articles on various aspects of the medieval history of Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib, ranging from Berber words and phrases in these texts to the economic, geographic, and religious history of Northern Africa and the Sahara.[562] While the prosopographies were not Lewicki's only source, his many case studies drew principally from the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* of al-Darjīnī, the collection now known as the *Siyar al-Wisyānī,* and the *Kitāb al-siyar* of al-Shammākhī.[563] Lewicki supplemented these manuscripts with the now more widely available

[560] Ibid., 3. Since Lewicki's death in the 1992, the manuscripts moved to Oman. The library of the Oriental Institute in Krakow still has photocopies of most of these manuscripts. Catalog entries describing the collection as it existed in the mid-20th century can be found in a catalog of manuscripts in Poland: Strelcyna, *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich*.

[561] A catalog of the collection held in Lviv was published (in Russian) in 1989: Savchenko, *Kollekstiya ubaditskikh rukopiseĭ Nauchnoĭ Biblioteki L'vovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*. During my own research visit in the summer of 2015, all manuscripts listed in the catalog as well as the original, hand-written catalog cards were still there.

[562] For a full bibliography of the works of Tadeusz Lewicki see Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*, 184–89.

[563] E.g.: Lewicki, "Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'ad-Darjīnī"; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Une chronique ibādite: Kitāb as-Sijar d'Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad aš-Šammāḫi avec quelques remarques sur l'origine et l'histoire de la famille des Šammāḫis," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 3 (1936): 59–76; Tadeusz Lewicki, *Les ibadites en Tunisie au Moyen âge* (Roma: Angelo Signorelli, 1958); Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les sources ibāḍites de l'histoire médiévale de l'Afrique du Nord," *Africana bulletin Africana Bulletin*, no. 35 (1988): 31–42. In addition, in his monograph on Ibāḍī historians and traditionists, Lewicki reviewed the main sources, five of eleven of which are the prosopographical texts. Lewicki, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibādites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du Vlle au XVle siècle.*, 3–5.

lithograph editions of al-Shammākhī and al-Barrādī printed in Cairo and Constantine at the end of the 19th century,[564] in addition to Masqueray's edition of the *Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*.

In the introduction to her study of the arrival and early development of Ibāḍī Islam in Northern Africa, Elizabeth Savage noted that Lewicki often took for granted the veracity of the information he drew from these manuscripts.[565] As a result, Lewicki's many articles reflect the cumulative Ibāḍī vision and account of history constructed by the prosopographical tradition. This goes a long way toward explaining the popularity and broad diffusion of his works among modern Ibāḍī historians, as well.[566] His enormous written output, together with his reliance on the prosopographical corpus and the reproduction within that corpus of the written network, insured that these texts would remain the key references for historians working on Ibāḍī history in the 20th and 21st centuries.

The context in which these collections of manuscripts in Lviv and Krakow were assembled and used deserves reflection. It was thanks to the French colonial presence in the Mzab, in addition to his status and connections made as an envoy for the Tsar, that Smogorzewski got access to these collections. While the circumstances whereby he obtained these manuscripts are not as clear as those surrounding the manuscripts of Masqueray, it is important to remember that Lewicki benefited from the efforts of his teacher carried out at the height of French colonial occupation of southern Algeria in

564 Smogorzewski had purchased these lithographs directly from its printer, Muḥammad al-Barūnī, in Cairo: Smogorzewski, "Essai de bio-bibliographie ibadite-wahbite, avant-propos," 48–50.
565 Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*, 13–14.
566 Ṣāliḥ Ben Idrissou, "Namūdhaj min al-buḥūth al-istishrāqiyya: mīzāb wa l-ibāḍiyya fi al-dirāsāt al-būlūniyya," *El-Minhāj: dawriyya 'ilmiyya mutakhaṣṣiṣa fi makhṭūṭāt al-ibāḍiyya wa wādī mīzāb fi wathā'iqihā al-arshīfiyya* 1 (2011): 109–49.

the early 20th century. Prior to Algerian independence, moreover, Lewicki himself spent time in the Mzab, where he acquired additional copies of manuscripts.

At the same time, Smogorzewski also noted in his essay on Ibāḍī bibliography that he owed a great debt to the Ibāḍīs themselves for opening the doors of their homes and libraries to him. This welcome, along with Smogorzewski's friendship with Muḥammad al-Bārūnī in Cairo, reminds us that the colonial presence of European powers in Northern Africa at the beginning of the 20th century was not the only factor that allowed researchers access to the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus. Ibāḍī students and scholars decided, on their own, to share these manuscripts with researchers.

Finally, colonial-era French scholars followed Lewicki's work with great interest. Several of the major Orientalists at the University of Algiers cited his studies. Orientalist studies on the region were published regularly in the *Revue Africaine,* an academic journal on all aspects of Northern and West Africa culture, politics, and history.[567] Lewicki's works, written primarily in French and occasionally in English, were used in various studies throughout the 20th century and in many cases represented the sole means of accessing Ibāḍī texts like the *Siyar al-Wisyānī* for colonial-era historians.[568]

Although geographically separated from the French colonial environment in Algeria, Lewicki's work on Ibāḍī Islam nevertheless constitutes both an acting participant in and product of

[567] E.g., Marius Canard, "Les travaux de T. Lewicki concernant le Maghrib et en particulier les Ibadites," *Revue africaine* 103 (1959): 356–71; Canard, Marius, "Quelques articles récents de l'arabisant polonais T. Lewicki," *Revue africaine* 105 (1961): 186–92.

[568] An interesting case of the intersection between Lewicki's work on this manuscript and the French colonial sphere appears in a letter written by Marius Canard to Roger LeTourneau about a conversation in which Canard mentioned the young Tunisian historian Farhat Dachraoui (Farḥāt Dashrāwī). Dachraoui had obtained a microfilm of a manuscript copy of Abū Zakarīyā''s *Kitāb al-sīra* from Lewicki and the letter was a formal request to examine an additional copy of that work at the University of Algiers library. Lewicki is referred to by name and without explanation because Algeria-based scholars of Ibāḍism were familiar with his work. (CAOM 7/APOM/10, letter from Canard to LeTourneau, 17 April 1958). Dachraoui went on the publish his well-known history of the Fatimids: Farhat Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb (296-365H./909-975JC.): histoire politique et institutions* (Tunis: S.T.D., 1981).

colonial-era scholarship on Ibāḍī Islam. The access to Ibāḍī manuscripts which Lewicki enjoyed in Lwow and afterward in Krakow was due to a combination of both French colonial occupation of Algeria and the cooperation of the Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib that had provided his teacher, like Masqueray and Motylinski before them, with access to these texts. In addition, Lewicki's work remained in constant dialogue with mid-20th century French scholarship on the Ibāḍī communities of Northern Africa. The prodigious number of works that appeared on Ibāḍī Islam, based primarily on these manuscripts and written in French, helped to insure the importance and centrality of the Ibāḍī prosopographies in other studies on Ibāḍī history in the 20th and 21st century.

**Ibāḍī Print Houses in the 19th and 20th centuries**

The interest of colonial scholarship in the prosopographies did not, by itself, determine the centrality of the Ibāḍī prosopographical corpus to modern Ibāḍī studies. Ibāḍīs themselves did much to insure the dominance of parts of the corpus, especially through print houses of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The previous chapters have noted the introduction of printing in Northern Africa and its interrelationship with the Ibāḍī prosopographies. Chapter 7 highlighted how the introduction of printing did not fundamentally alter Ibāḍī manuscript culture, in the sense that scholars and students continued to collect both manuscript and print books, while interacting with both types of books in much the same way by adding marginal notes, ownership statements, and hand-written tables of contents.

The following chapter noted, however, that the introduction of printing technology in the mid-19th century did have a discernable impact on the prosopographical manuscript corpus. The

publication by al-Maṭbaʿ al-Bārūniyya in Cairo of al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar*[569] and al-Barrādī's *Kitāb al-jawāhir*[570] meant that the manuscript tradition of those two texts came to a sudden halt at the end of the 19th century.[571] By contrast, scholars continued to make manuscript copies of the remaining texts of the corpus. This speaks not only to the persistence of Ibāḍī manuscript culture well into the 20th century but also to the widespread distribution of the products of Ibāḍī publishing houses of Cairo in this period. In particular, following the publication of the lithograph edition of the *Kitāb al-siyar,* this edition appeared in the citations of many, if not most, European studies of Ibāḍī studies in the 20th century.[572] Overall, the appearance in print of the *Kitāb al-siyar* and the *Kitāb al-jawāhir* at the end of the 19th century rendered those texts available to a much wider audience than ever before. This audience extended throughout Northern Africa and into Europe, where European historians had been developing an interest in the Ibāḍī prosopographies.

**Conclusion**

The point of this essay has precisely not been to show that colonial-era scholarship alone insured the centrality of the prosopographical corpus in contemporary scholarship on Ibāḍī communities in Northern Africa. Instead, it has highlighted some examples of the sustained European interest in the

569 al-Shammākhi, *Kitāb al-siyar*.
570 al-Barrādī, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-Jawāhir*.
571 On the history of the Bārūniyya printing house and full inventory see "al-Maṭbaʿa al-Bārūniyya" in Custers, *Ibāḍī Publishing Activities in the East and in the West, C. 1880-1960s: An Attempt to an Inventory, with References to Related Recent Publications.*, 5–22.
572 In addition to the series of articles by LeTourneau and Idris virtually any study by Tadeusz Lewicki, e.g.: Rubinacci, "Il 'Kitāb al-Jawāhir' di al-Barrādī"; Rubinacci, "Il califfo 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān è gli Ibāditi"; Schacht, "Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites"; Van Ess, "Untersuchungen einiger ibāḍitischen Handschriften"; Hopkins and Levtzion, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*; Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibaditen in Nordafrika*; Rebstock, *Die Ibāḍiten im Maġrib* (*2./8.-4./10. Jh.*).

Ibāḍī prosopographies in manuscript form during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, while tying them to the printed verisons of those prosographies by Ibāḍī print houses in the same period.

Ibāḍī print houses and their reformist founders, after all, had consciously intended to achieve this widespread distribution of their texts. The 19th and 20th centuries represented a remarkable period of reform in Ibāḍī thought. Historians have recently highlighted how Ibāḍīs not only participated in independence movements in France, Tunisia, and Libya but also went through a period of revitalization and reform within the Ibāḍī communities themselves.[573] In many cases these efforts, among which we should count both the manuscript tradition and the printing activities, resulted in a new sense of awareness among the world's different Ibāḍī communities, in all their geographic locations.

Finally, the dissemination of the Ibāḍī prosopographies and other texts in manuscript form belonged to a process similar to the distribution of printed Ibāḍī works. The owners and caretakers of private Ibāḍī manuscript libraries in the Maghrib also actively participated in insuring that the prosopographical corpus would maintain a central position for 20th-and-21st century scholarship. Behind the studies of Masqueray in France, of Smogorzewski and Lewicki in Poland, and of LeTourneau and Idris in Algiers, lay the private collections of Ibāḍī scholars who chose to open the doors of their libraries to foreign researchers. If the fascination of European scholarship with the Ibāḍī

[573] In June 2015, a conference entitled "Ibāḍī History: the Nahḍa Period" was held in St. Petersburg. The proceedings from that conference will be published in the near future in the series *Studies on Ibadism and Oman,* edited by Abdulrahman Al Salimi and Heinz Gaube (Hildesheim, 2013-2015). On other recent studies, see, e.g. Hoffman, "The Articulation of Ibādī Identity in Modern Oman and Zanzibar"; Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Hoffman, "Ibadi Reformism in Twentieth-Century Algeria: The Tafsir of Shaykh Ibrahim Bayyud"; Hoffman, *The Essentials of Ibāḍī Islam*; Jomier, "Iṣlāḥ ibāḍite et intégration nationale : vers une communauté mozabite ? (1925-1964)"; Ghazal, "An Ottoman Pasha and the End of Empire: Sulayman al-Baruni and the Networks of Islamic Reform."

prosopographies helped insure the centrality of that corpus for contemporary Ibāḍī studies, so too did the active work by Ibāḍī scholars and reformers of the 19th and 20th centuries aiming to disseminate Ibāḍī texts in print or make those texts available to researchers in manuscript form. Although often with very different aims, through manuscript and print media European Orientalists of the colonial era and Ibāḍī scholars themselves helped maintain the memory of the Ibāḍī written network right up to the present day.

# Appendix: List of Manuscripts

| Type | Archive | Shelf-mark | Hijrī Date | Common-Era Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ***Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma* (*al-Wārjalānī*)** | | |
| Microfilm | دار الكتب [المصرية] | 9030 Ḥā' | ١٥ جمادى الأولى سنة ١٣٠٢ | 3/2/1885 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج مسعود بابكر | بابكر 27 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | دغ 001 | early 14th c. AH? | early 19th c.? |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | 120 [الجزانة الأولى] | 2nd half of the 10th c. AH(?) | 16th c.(?) |
| Digital Facsimile | مكتبة آل فضل | د غ 015 | ٥ ذو القعدة ٨٨٣ هـ | 1/29/1479 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 035 | First half of the 13th c. AH | early 19th c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | 118 (al-Khizāna al-'ūlā) | الأربعاء ٤ ذي القعدة ٩٨٢ هـ | 2/15/1575 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 186 | الأربعاء ٢٨ شعبان ٩٥٧ هـ | 9/10/1550 |
| Photocopy | مكتبة إيروان | مص 10 | ١١ ذو القعدة ١٣٨٤ هـ | 3/15/1965 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة القطب | ث 2 | رجب ١٣١٠ | November / December 1897 |
| Manuscript | Library of the University of Leiden (Netherlands) | Or. 14.005 | 13th c.? | 19th c.? |
| Manuscript | Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer (Aix-en-Provence, France) | 7APOM/12 | 14th c. | 1950-56 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة آل يدر | 45 | 1343 | 1924 |
| Photographed copy | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1055 I | 980 AH[?] | Late 16th century [?] |
| Manuscript | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1054 II | ١٠ صفر ١٣٤٥ | 1926 |
| Manuscript | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1085 II | [13th c.?] | [19th c.?] |
| Manuscript | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1088 II - II.5 | [13th c.?] | [19th c.?] |
| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Depozyt 1.23 | terminus ante quem 1349-50 | terminus ante quem 1931 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Depozyt 1.15 | terminus ante quem 1349-50 | terminus ante quem 1931 |
| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | No.16 [see notes] | terminus ante quem 1349-50 | terminus ante quem 1931 |
| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Depozyt 1.26 | terminus ante quem 1349-50 | terminus ante quem 1931 |
| Manuscript | Centre de littérature et de linguistique arabes (C.N.R.S) | None | terminus ante quem 1342 | terminus ante quem 26 March 1924 |
| Manuscript | Centre de littérature et de linguistique arabes (C.N.R.S) | None | ٢٠ ربيع الأول ١٣٤٥ | 3/26/1924 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 93 | Unknown | Unknown |

***Kitāb siyar al-Wisyānī***

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| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | دغ 001 | [13th c.?] | [late 19th early 20th c.?] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 186 | 956 AH ? | 1549? |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 186 | الجمعة ٢٣ شعبان ٩٥٦ هـ | 9/15/1549 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | دغ 001 | [13th-14th c.?] | [late 19th early 20th c.?] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج سعيد محمد | دغ 16 | Late 12th/ early 13th c. AH | Early to mid-19th c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة آل يدر | 45 | 1343 | 1924 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج مسعود بابكر | بابكر 27 | Second half of the 10th c. AH[?] | mid-to-late 16th c.[?] |
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية (جربة) | 69 | 11th c | mid-17th. c. |
| Photocopy | مكتبة القطب | ث 11 | ١٥ رمضان ١٣٣٨ | 6/3/1920 |
| Photocopy | مكتبة إيروان | م[ص] 23 | 14th c. | 6/1/1973 |
| Manuscript | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Depozyt 1.26 | Unknown | [terminus ante quem 1931] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 113 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Microfilm | دار الكتب [القاهرة] | ح 9112 | ١١٩٦(?) | 1781-2(?) |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manuscript | Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie | A-MSS-03606 | Unknown | [1820-1860] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 035 | 1st half of the 13th century AH? | 19th c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | 120 [الجزانة الأولى] | Second half of the 10th c. AH | 16th c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة إيروان | 70 | الإثنين ٢٢ جمادى الأول ١٢١٨ هـ | 9/9/1803 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة عمي سعيد | 52 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج سعيد محمد | 26 | عشية الأربعاء ٩ صفر ١١٨٠ هـ | 7/6/1767 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ حمو بابا وموسى (مكتبة جمعية عمي سعيد) | حدغ 81 | Later 12th/ early 13th c. AH | 18th-19th c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ حمو بابا وموسى (مكتبة جمعية عمي سعيد) | حدغ 98 | [13th c.?] | 18th/19th c.? |
| Manuscript | الخزانة العامة (مكتبة جمعية عمي سعيد) | م 63 | 9-10th c.? | 16th-17th c.? |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 034 | الجمعة ٢٩ جمادى الأولى ١١٨٩ هـ | 7/27/1775 |
| Digital Facsimile | مكتبة الإستقامة | الخزانة الثانية : أ 99 | 9/10th c. AH? | 15th/16th c.? |
| Manuscript | مكتبة إيروان | 68 | ٢٠ ربيع الثاني ١٢٨٣ هـ | 8/31/1866 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة عمي سعيد | 11 | 12th c.? | 18th c.? |
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية (جربة) | 80 | ذو الحجة ١١٧٤ هـ | 7/1/1761 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة القطب (بني يسجن الجزائر) | ث 8 | ٧ صفر ٧٥٨ | 1/28/1357 |
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية (جربة) | 81 | 10th c.? | 16th c.? |
| Microfilm | دار الكتب [القاهرة] | ح 10418 | جمادى الأول ٩٩٦ | 4/1/1588 |
| Manuscript | Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer (Aix-en-Provence, France) | 7APOM/3 | [N/A] | 1950-1957 [See Notes] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | س 14 | ١١ رمضان ١٣٥٧ | 11/4/1938 |
| Glass Photographic Sheets | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1056 I (2) | [٧ صفر ٧٥٨] | [28 January 1357] |
| Black and White Photos of MS | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1056 I (2) | ٧ صفر ٧٥٨ | [28 January 1357] |
| Manuscript | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1088 II - II.4 | [13th c.?] | [19th c.?] |

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| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Depozyt 1.13 | ١٩ شعبان ١٣٤١ | 4/6/1923 |
| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Depozyt 1.16 | [1192?] | [1778?] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 97 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 74 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 65 | [9th c.?] | [mid to late 15th c.?] |

***Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt* (*al-Barrādī*)**

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية | 73 | حول رمضان ١٠٩١ | 10/1/1680 |
| Manuscript | Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie | A-MSS-024493 | Unknown | 19th century(?) |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج سعيد محمد | د غ 23 | 10th C. Hijri | Mid-to-late 16th c. |
| Digital Facsimile | مكتبة الإستقامة | 118 [الخزانة الأولى] | عصر يوم الخميس ٥ ذي القعدة ٩٨٢ هـ | 2/16/1575 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة إيروان [الجزائر] | 80 | Unknown | [early to mid-19th c.] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة إيروان [الجزائر] | 66 | ١٩ رمضان ١٢٩٠ | 11/10/1873 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة آت خالد [الجزائر] | م 124 | السبت ٢٨ ذو القعدة ١١٨٦ هـ | 2/20/1773 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج سعيد محمد [الجزائر] | 28 | late 12th c. | late 18th c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج سعيد محمد [الجزائر] | 38 | الأحد ٢٤ صفر ١١٥٣ هـ | 5/20/1740 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | 84 [الخزانة الأولى] | شعبان ١١٩٢ هـ | 9/1/1778 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | 35 [الخزانة الثانية] | صحى يوم الخميس ٢٤ جمادى الثانية ١٣٠٣ هـ | 3/30/1886 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة إيروان | 70 | Unknown | [19th century?] |
| Digital Facsimile | مكتبة الإستقامة | 67 [الخزانة الأولى] | عشية الأربعاء ٢ ربيع الثاني ١٢٢٩ هـ | 3/24/1814 |
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية (جربة) | 72 | Unknown | 17th c.? |
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية (جربة) | 82 | 10th c.? | 16th c.? |
| Manuscript | L'Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale | MS ARA 93 | [13th c.?] | [mid-19th c.] |
| Manuscript | L'Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale | None | صفر ١١٨٨ | 4/1/1774 |
| Microfilm | دار الكتب [القاهرة] | ح 8456 | ٢٣ ربيع الأول ١١٣٢ | 1720 |

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| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | | آخر جمادى الأول ١١٦٦ | (late) March 1753 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة القطب | ث 1 | رمضان ١٠٩٠ | 10/1/1679 |
| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | Sygn. Depozyt 1.2 | 20th c. | [terminus ante quem 1931] |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 95 | Unknown | Unknown |

### *Kitāb al-siyar* (*al-Shammākhī*)

| | | | | |
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| Manuscript | Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie | A-MSS-22257 | جمادى الثاني ١١١٠ | 12/1/1698 |
| Manuscript | الخزانة العامة (مكتبة جمعية عمي سعيد) | م 18 | صبيحة الأربعاء ١ جمادى الأول ١١٦٣ | 4/8/1750 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 032 | الإثنين ٢١ شوال ١٢٩٧هـ | 9/26/1880 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج صالح لعلي | م 036 | السبت ١٠ شعبان ١٢٠٤ هـ | 4/12/1790 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة آل يدر | 79 | ٢٩ ربيع الأول ١٢٨٣ هـ | 8/11/1866 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ أحمد بن حمد الخليلي | 139 | terminus ante quem 1125 AH | terminus ante quem 18th. c. |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ حمو بابا وموسى (مكتبة جمعية عمي سعيد) | حدغ 100 | 2nd half of the 13th c. AH? | 19th c.? |
| Manuscript | الخزانة العامة (مكتبة جمعية عمي سعيد) | د غ 195 | Unknown | Late 17th/early 18th century? |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | الخزانة الثانة: أ/130 | [1115 AH?] | [1703-04?] |
| Manuscript | المكتبة البارونية (جربة) | 70 | 11th c.? | 17th c.? |
| Manuscript | L'Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale | MS ARA 30 | جمادى الأول ١١٨٧ | 8/1/1773 |
| Microfilm | دار الكتب [القاهرة] | 8591 ح | جمادى الاول سنة ١١٣٩ | 9/1/1736 |
| Manuscript | Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie | A-MSS-15349 | ليلة الأربعا ٢٥ من ربيع الأول ١٠٦٢ | 3/6/1652 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الحاج مسعود بابكر | [None] | الاثنين ٥ صفر ١١٣٢ هـ | 12/17/1719 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة آت خالد | م 109 | ١٦ ذو الحجة ١١٧٨ | 6/5/1765 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الإستقامة | 75 | 12th-13th c.? | 18-19th c.? |
| Manuscript | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1084 II | Unknown | [19th century?] |
| Manuscript | Ivan Franko National University of Lviv | 1083 II | 1282 AH? | 1865? |

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| Photocopy | Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian Library | [Unknown] | ١٥ شعبان ١١١٩ | 11/10/1707 |
| Printed image from Microfilm | دار الكتب [القاهرة] | تاريخ 769 | ٢٧ ذو الحجة ١١٧٩ | 6/5/1766 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 96 | ١٢٤٤ هـ | 9/1/1828 |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 5 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 5 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 5 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | 5 | Unknown | Unknown |
| Manuscript | مكتبة الشيخ سالم بن يعقوب | ق 41 | 13th c.? | 19th c.? |

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